

A SIMPLE STUDY OF
**INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS**

by
SACHDEVA & GUPTA

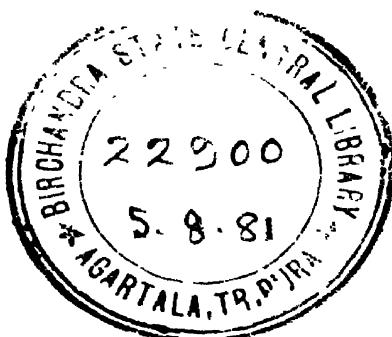
AJANTA PRAKASHAN
2768 Gali Arya Samaj, Bazar Sita Ram,
DELHI-6.

A SIMPLE STUDY OF
**INTERNATIONAL
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[For College and Competitive Examinations]

QUESTIONS—ANSWERS

By
SACHDEVA & GUPTA



AJANTA PRAKASHAN

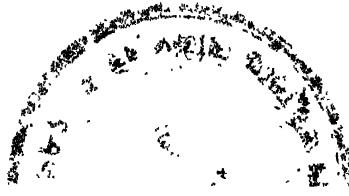
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PREFACE

We have great pleasure in presenting to our student friends this sixth publication in our series, "A Simple Study of Political Science", a programme that we undertook about three years ago. We hope to complete this project of bringing all the publications on Political Science shortly.

This work on International Relations is intended to serve as a help-book for students of various universities offering International Relations as their paper of study. Those preparing for various competitive examinations like I.A.S. and P.C.S. etc., would also find it quite helpful. Though a help book, it will not be found less useful and informative than a text book. All the important questions hearing on the subject and asked in the various universities and other examinations have been included in this book. The subject matter has been arranged in a way so as to make it easily comprehensible and digestible. The examinees would definitely secure high marks if they can memorise the answers given in this book and produce the same in their examinations.

This has been written by two University Professors of long standing and high academic qualifications who have a wide experience of examining the answer books of the candidates appearing in the competitive and university examinations in Political Science. The defects usually found in the answers of the examinees in that they do not properly arrange the subject matter. This book will acquaint them with the style of arranging the answers in a beautiful and attractive way so as to compel the examiner to be impressed by the quality of the answer. It is earnestly hoped that the book will be found greatly useful by all those for whom it is meant.

Suggestions for further improvement will be gratefully acknowledged.

PUBLISHERS

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KASHMIR PROBLEM

As early as on 2nd October, 1947, Pakistani nationals and tribesmen entered the Jammu and Kashmir State "for the purpose of fighting". This was rectified by the then Indian Governor-General, and accordingly on 28th October, 1947, Indian troops were sent to redeem the innocent people of Jammu and Kashmir from the beastly attack of the invaders. India succeeded in overthrowing Pakistani nationals and tribesmen from the two-thirds of the area, and the remaining one-third which remained in the hands of Pakistan termed and styled as "Azad Kashmir". India took up the case with the United Nations on the 1st January, 1948. The Security Council passed a Resolution on the 13th August, 1948 which read :

Part I—Cease-fire.

Part II—

Section A

Pakistan has agreed to withdraw the Pakistani nationals and tribesmen who had entered the Jammu Kashmir State for the purpose of fighting.

Section B

After Pakistan has withdrawn the Pakistani nationals and tribesmen who had entered the Jammu and Kashmir State for the purpose of fighting, the area thus vacated by the Pakistani nationals and the tribesmen who had entered the Jammu and Kashmir State for the purpose of fighting, will fall under the surveillance of the United Nations.

Section C

After Pakistan has withdrawn the Pakistani nationals and tribesmen who had entered the Jammu and Kashmir State for the purpose of fighting and the area thus vacated has fallen under the surveillance of the United Nations, India has agreed to withdraw the bulk of its troops.

Part III—Plebiscite.

This was followed by the Security Council Resolution of 21st February, 1949 which gave the details of the plebiscite.

Having noticed the oscillating and convalescent attitude of the Security Council, the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir State was called upon :

1. To frame the constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State.
2. To determine the accession of the State to India or Pakistan.

Accordingly, on 17th November, 1956, the National Conference charged with the constitutional Powers of the Constituent Assembly, adopted the Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir State and declared :

“Jammu and Kashmir State is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India”.

In accordance with the verdict of the people, Government of India declared to formally take over the State from the 26th January, 1957. But at the last moment, Pakistan moved the strings, resulting in the “Freeze Resolution” passed on 25th January, 1957, to restrain India from the take-over. But India refused to honour it on the grounds that the take-over had been earlier completed and that it was only a celebrational part, which was required to be performed on the 26th January, 1957. This resulted in another Resolution of the Security Council on the 21st February, 1957, which, in its original draft demanded posting of the U.N. forces in Jammu and Kashmir State. But as it was vetoed by Soviet Russia, an alternative resolution was passed on the same day which decided to send Gunnar Jarring of Sweden, the President of the Security Council for the month, to visit India and Pakistan to explore the possibilities of peaceful settlement of Indo-Pakistan dispute. Like Dr. Graham, Gunnar Jarring also supported India’s stand, although Dr. Graham had very categorically called Pakistan as “aggressor”. The issue was resumed again in 1964 with the release of Sheikh Abdullah, who renewed the talks of plebiscite and later on moulded it into a wider term, “self-determination”. But speaking in the Security Council, our chief delegate, Krishna Menon, had categorically stated in 1957 that in the light of the verdict of the National Conference of Jammu and Kashmir rebutted Pakistan’s offer of a plebiscite then by completing Section A, Part II of the Security Council Resolution of the 13th

August, 1948 on the grounds that it was time-barred in the light of Defence Pacts that Pakistan had entered into. Speaking in the Security Council, India's chief delegate, Shri M.C. Chagla in May, 1964, informed the Security Council that Kashmir issue could not be separated from the larger issue of Indo-Pakistan relations and, he argued that since the negotiations were being conducted between India and Pakistan resorted to the brutal ways as she had been used to. She committed aggression through infiltrators on the 22nd October, 1947 ; she made the second hushed attempt on the 24th January, 1957 to tone down India with the threat of infiltrations ; and the last page in the Chronicle was written on the 5th August, 1965, when Pakistan put into action her of repeated threats. But Pakistan has realized fully well the strength of India's determination and national integration which has blown off the U.S. tanks like pastries.

Pakistan's renewed attack on Jammu and Kashmir State on the 5th August, 1965 through an army of infiltrators has reopened the Kashmir issue. It was followed by a massive aerial attack by Pakistan's Air Force. Accordingly, the U. N. Military Observer, General Nimmo, gave a categorical report to the Security Council which confirmed India's allegation that Pakistan violated the cease-fire line facted near Union on 1st January, 1949, in the light of Security Council Resolution of the 13th August, 1948. Accordingly, the U.N. Secretary General U-Thant asked the Security Council on September 17 to immediately order the Governments of India and Pakistan under article 40 of the U. N. Charter to desist from further hostile actions and issue cease-fire order to the military forces.

Article 40

"In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in the article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measure as deemed necessary or desirable. Such prejudice to the rights, claims or positions of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures."

"The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to peace, break of the peace or act of aggression and shall make recommendation or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with article 41 and 42 to maintain or restore international peace or security."

Article 41

"The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed forces are got to be employed to give effect

to its decisions, and it may call upon the members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal telegraphical, radio and other means of communications and severance of diplomatic relations."

Article 42

"Should the Security Council consider that the measures provided for in article 41 would be inadequate and prove to be inadequate, it may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action includes demonstrations, blockade or other operations by air, sea or land forces of members of the United Nations."

Accordingly, the Security Council announced the cease-fire on the 23rd September, 1965 which implied that both India and Pakistan should stop armed conflict and resume the line of actual control as it stood on the 5th August, 1965. Pakistan on the other hand, demanded that India should accept in principle the plebiscite in Kashmir within three months. But India categorically rejected it on the grounds that the Jammu and Kashmir State 'is and shall be an integral part of the Union of India.' Accordingly, the U.N. Security Council Resolution restricted itself to the cease-fire, and in it India accepted the cease-fire, but with a categorical condition that Pakistan would vacate all aggression committed by her and withdraw all the infiltrators, armed or otherwise, who had entered the Jammu and Kashmir State and other parts of India after the resumed aggression by Pakistan.

But Pakistan was as prompt to violate the cease-fire as the cease-fire seemed to be hastening towards its press-hard by her circumstances. She wanted to gain time for renewed exploits at her end, with Western reinforcement and also with the Chinese support, this could be easily gauged from the fact that China intervened by concocting a story of India's violations of the border of Sikkim. The three-day ultimatum of China was so designed as to enable Pakistan, and no less Britain.

India to accept Pakistan's demand of plebiscite in Kashmir within a period of three months. This fact is amply borne by the scorch earth policy and destruction caused by Pakistan aerial bombardment in Amritsar at last moment of the cease-fire. By now, Pakistan has violated the cease-fire line 251 times. And, it is quite evident from the fact that U.N.O. is adopting conniving attitude towards these acts of aggression. In fact, the Pentagon is seriously engaged in brooding over the fate of American tanks and in exploring the possibilities of re-arming defence of Pakistan. When they seem to be rather helpless to do anything positive in the U.N. Security Councils. While presenting India's case, India's chief delegate,

Mr. M.C. Chagla, categorically demanded of the Security Council to determine the aggressor in the first instance. We impressed upon the Security Council not to ignore the report of General Nimmo, Security General's Special Military Observer. But still the reported apathy of the Security Council amply proves that the Western Powers are out to help Pakistan although they are fully confident that Indian public opinion is turning against the partisan and pre-Pakistan attitude of Western Powers.

PAKISTAN'S AGGRESSION ON RANN OF KUTCH

Pakistan's Claim

Pakistan has concocted her claim of 3,500 sq. miles of area in the northern half of the Rann of Kutch on the following grounds :—

- (i) That Rann of Kutch is an inland sea, as such, Pakistan is entitled to half of this area.
- (ii) that although historically the Kutch-Sindh Border is undemarcated, yet it is well-defined on maps and well-recognised in fact. Pakistan claims that prior to the Partition of India the Kutch-Sindh Border separated the then British Province of Sindh and the Indian State of Kutch. As then there was no need for drawing an international boundary, it was not formally demarcated. The Rann of Kutch was within the Sindh Province, and not in the Indian State of Kutch during the British Rule in India.

India's Repudiations of Pakistan's Claims

Pakistan's assertion that Rann of Kutch is an inland sea has been repudiated by India and substantiated by documentary evidence.

- (i) The Rann of Kutch is a 'marsh', and not a lake or an inland sea. All the flora and fauna of the marsh land with marsh-grown grass in abundance and other characteristics can be seen in the Rann of Kutch. Pakistan has tried to create a confusion as a result of some geographical phenomenon. The real position is that during the monsoon period, as a result of strong winds and high tides in the Arabian Sea, this low-lying area gets flooded by sea water, from May to October ; but it remains mostly dry and partly marsh land during the remaining part of the year. On this plea, Rann of Kutch cannot be accepted as inland sea.
- (ii) The British Government of India had decided formally to 1906 that it was more correct to define the Rann of Kutch as a 'marsh' rather than as a 'lake' or 'inland sea'.

Documentary Evidence

- (iii) Pakistan's claim on historical basis is a fiction, as the following documentary evidence reveals. It is a well-defined border as indicated on maps :—
- (a) Official maps dating from 1872 to 1943 and, even thereafter, have clearly shown this position.
- (b) The boundary was also clearly described in detail in official documents prior to the Partition of India.
- (c) The Official Gazette of the Province of Sindh published in Karachi in 1907.
- (d) The Gazetteer of India of the Bombay Presidency published in 1909.
- (e) The Imperial Gazetteer of India published by the British Secretary of State in India in 1908, pointed to the Rann of Kutch as outside the Province of Sindh.
- (f) All the documents of the Political Department of the then British Government of India, as of 1937, 1939 and 1942, clearly define the political charges of various officers. The Rann of Kutch has fallen within the Western India State Agency, and never within the Province of Sindh. (It may be stated that the entire West India State Agency has now become a part of India as a result of accession.)

Brief History of Border Incidents

- (i) As early as on April 9, 1965, our border post at Sardar in the Rann of Kutch was attacked by Pakistan, with heavy mortar and medium machine-gune fire, followed by artillery fire from 25 pounder guns under cover of which 2 Battalions of the Pakistan Regular Army belonging to the 51 Infantry Brigade advanced towards the post. It was a pre-meditated and pre-planned attack, as could be judged from the documents captured from the Pakistan's Army had drawn up the plan as early as in the second week of March for an organised attack on Indian Border Post and, accordingly, orders were issued by Pakistan's authorities on April 7, and the attack was launched in the early hours of April 9.
- (ii) On April 24, Indian Company based at Point-84 was shelled in the morning and later attacked by Pakistan Infantry, supported by tanks and other armour.
- (iii) On April 26, Pakistan's Armed Forces again attacked with tanks and armoured vehicles, the border post at Biar Bet ; and the attacks are yet continuing.

Pakistan's Sinister Tactics

On April 19, the Pakistan Foreign Secretary handed over a formulation to the Indian High Commissioner at Karachi which, in substance, was the same as the Pakistan Foreign Office had suggested to our High Commissioner a few days earlier, namely that there could be a cease-fire to be followed by talks at official level, with a view to determining and restoring status quo and later on high level meeting by two Governments to discuss the boundary question. On April 24, the Pakistan High Commissioner at New Delhi handed, over an alternative formulation to the Indian Foreign Secretary, according to which cease-fire was to be followed by the withdrawal of the Armed Forces, both by India and Pakistan, whether civil or military, from the areas which, they contended, were the disputed territory. But it is quite curious to find that earlier the same morning (rather even before the new formulation had been presented) Pakistan had launched a heavy attack in Brigade strength on Indian Post at Point-84, West of Chad Bet, with heavy artillery.

It may be recalled that the Government of Pakistan had stated in its note dated March 1, 1965, in reply to India's protest note of February 18, 1965, that Kanjarkot Fort had not been occupied by the Indus Rangers (Pakistan). Now Pakistan has forcibly occupied the Kanjarkot Fort, and she is virtually in occupation of 6-8 miles of Indian territory. Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Mr. Bhutto, had stated on 15 April—"It must be remembered that the central fact is that it is a dispute over territory which lies roughly North of the 24th Parallel. The dispute has arisen not because the disputed territory is in India's adverse possession". It will, thus, appear that Pakistan is trying to play clever manoeuvring with India and it is not sticking her statements.

India's Protest to U.N.O.

Pakistan's aggression is in contravention of United Nations Charter and of the Ground Rules under the Indo-Pakistan Border Agreement of 1960. Accordingly, Government of India has invoked the U.N.O. in the matter. India has stated that Pakistan "shall be responsible for the serious consequences that inevitably flow from such unprovoked and naked aggression". India's Resident Representative at the United Nations, Mr. B.N. Chakravarti, stated in his letter dated April 27, addressed to Mr. Abdel Monem Rifai of Jordan (President for the month of the Security Council) : "I have been instructed by my Government to draw your attention to the fact that Pakistan's aggression is continuing and even at the present moment further acts of aggression by Pakistan's Armed Forces designed to aggravate the situation are taking place on the Indian Territory."

Mediatory Talks

Government of U.S.A. and the Government of U.K. are exerting their pressure to effect a mediation in the dispute. But India's Prime Minister had made a categorical statement that India would not be willing for a compromise on any point leading to facation of an inch of India's territory which in India's lawful possession. Government of U.S.A. has, however, sent a note of protest to the Government of Pakistan for having used U.S military equipment against India, when the military aid was clearly specified for the defence of Pakistan against the threat of communism. Let us hope that something will come out. The Prime Minister visit to U.S.S.R. may enlist the co-operation and the support of the people and the Government of U.S.S.R. In the present situation when the Western Powers are simply expressing their anizement and giving soft statements that a 'delicate situation' has arisen, we want a positive stand on the part of either of the blocs because we shall not brook any delay in the matter.

Indo-Pakistan Agreement on Rann of Kutch

As a result of the good offices of the Government of Britain, India and Pakistan designed an agreement on June 29, to resolve the deadlock on the Rann of Kutch. Accordingly, cease-fire came into effect in the Rann of Kutch from 6.30 a.m. on July 1, 1965. The agreement provides for the withdrawal of Pakistani's forces from Kanjarkot, Biar Bet, and Point-44. On the other hand, India has agreed to withdraw from two posts, namely, Sadar Post, and Vigokot : but Chad Bet will remain with India. The agreement has, of course, reduced tensions between India and Pakistan : and both the Governments have expressed their satisfaction over it. But the masses in India are not favourably disposed towards the agreement in-so-far as it implies the withdrawal of Indian forces from the two posts. While explaining its stand, the Government has appointed out that India was not in possession of those two posts on January 1, 1965. But this is a poor consolation, since every loss is a loss whatever be the angle of vision.

CHINESE AGGRESSION ON INDIA

India is the missionary of peace who believes in 'live and let live'. Her voice has echoed in the East and the West that 'War is out-of-date in the modern Age', and she has rendered epoch-making contributions to world peace. When China forcibly occupied Tibet in 1952, India showed an attitude of complacency. Since she had no imperialist designs nor did she desire to entangle herself in a armed conflict over her interests in Tibet, she offered to withdraw from the 'Roof of the World' (Tibet). Indian hundred-men constabulary stationed in Tibet for the protection of Indian pilgrims in Tibet was withdrawn, and postal and telegraph links which belonged to India were given over to the Chinese. Although the Agreement provided for compensations, yet India in her enthusiasm of 'new love' went to the extent of forgoing it. Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet was signed between India and China 1954, in which Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existance were enunciated.

'L Belle Dam Sans Merci', who had taken many 'Warriors and kings in thrall,' allured India to soft and sothing drowsiness of love. The heroine turned into a villain, and in her villainous greed and cupidity she started infiltrating into Indian borders. Sino-Indian Agreement on Tibet of 1954 may sound ill-conceived today in the light of her realities; but if we conjecture in our mind the situation which then existed in 1954, we cannot pin-prick the Policy of the Government. We had a formidable enemy in Pakistan, who was drunk deep in military aid from the Western Powers, and surely it was not advisable for India to have chosen another arena on petty considerations in Tibet. So it was the expediency of the situation to recognise Tibet as a province of China. But one must also admit that the disappearance of Tibet as a Buffer State in between India and China, exposed India to China's aggressive designs. Whereas India doted on the coquettish Peking, she started violating Indian territory from as early as 1956. And what a complicity, if not inertia, that we had not even known it.

China claims about 40,000 sq. miles of Indian territory in NEFA and about 10,000 sq. miles in Ladakh. She has forcibly occupied about 25,000 sq. miles in NEFA and 14,000 sq. miles in Ladakh. We have a 2,500 miles long border with China, and the borders have been clearly determined in international agreements. India has remained China of the Smila Conference of 1914 in which MacMohan line was determined as the border between India and China, and India and Tibet. But China refuses it on the

grounds that the Survey of India may published by the British Government in India in 1927 does not earmark the MacMohan line which, China contends, was only a tentative agreement subject to later ratification. While replying to this contention, Government of India has drawn China's attention to the small map at the foot of the Survey of India map which has clearly explained the MacMohan Line. China makes an another observation that the Encyclopaedia Britannica of that period shows the parts of India claimed by China as falling within the Chinese territory. To this, the Prime Minister of India gave a befitting reply that the map in the Encyclopaedia Britannica is, obviously inaccurate, in-so-far as it shows parts of Chinese territory across Aksai Chin within India, if it has erroneously put some part of Indian territory elsewhere.

The Amritsar Conference of 1846 determines Ladakh as an integral part of Jammu and Kashmir State, when Raja Gulab Singh had seized the independent Ladakh. China refused to acknowledge it, although (as also in Simla Conference on NEFA) she was a signatory to it. Pakistan puts another knot. She puts forth vague claims on a part of Ladakh ; and in the recent Sino-Pakistan Pact, Pakistan has offered to concede about 1000 sq. miles of the contended area (and actually in forcible possession of China) to China.

In 1959, China had forcibly occupied Longju in NEFA, and also parts of Ladakh. Government of India sent repeated protests to China, but she kept on talking through her hat. In 1961, Longju was vacated by the Chinese consequent on breaking out of pestilence there. India, however, did not occupy the area, since she did not want to hamper negotiations for peaceful settlement. But to the great dismay of the people and the Government of India, China launched a massive attack on NEFA in September 1962, followed by a series of atrocious attacks on Ladakh. India suffered very heavy casualties, since she was taken by surprise owing to her over-reliance on Ahimsa, state of lethargy, military unpreparedness, and mismanagement.

National Emergency was introduced in India on the 26th October, 1962, to meet the Chinese aggression. U.S.A. and U.K. immediately rushed to the rescue of India. Military and Strategy experts of U.K. and U.S.A. as also Sandys and Harriman, visited India for consultations with Indian senior military and diplomatic Chiefs. The Western Powers were constrained to find out state of unpreparedness and mess of things, since Indian soldiers, British Officers and American military equipments had greatly contributed to the success of the Allies in the Second World War.

After having gained and consolidated the benefits of aggression, China offered unilaterally to withdraw her troops from 1st December,

1962, maintaining the line of actual control as on the 7th November, 1959, in order to resume peaceful negotiations. Government of India contended that line of actual control as a pre-requisite of negotiations for peaceful settlement. It demanded the vacation of Longju and the acceptance of line of actual control as on the 8th September, 1962, immediately before the massive invasion of China. Since the clash of arms between India and China is likely to develop into an all-out war, peace in South East Asia is disturbed and Afro-Asian solidarity is shaken. At the Colombo Conference, friendly neutral nations of Asia and Africa, namely, Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, and U.A.R., resolved to mediate to bring China and India to a Conference table. India has accepted the Colombo Proposals on Ladakh that both India and China should set up their civil posts in the areas vacated by China. But China, on the other hand, is playing dirty tricks. She, first, professed to go by it ; but later when she had succeeded in demoralising India and in causing psychological laxity in her military preparedness, as also in diverting and confusing the sympathies of friendly nations, she began to oscillate.

The implications of China's unpredictable moods are still more intricate. She had never thought that India, after her initial setbacks, would take a determined stand to fight an all-out war. Moreover, she had never expected that the Western Powers would, so enthusiastically and unconditionally plunge into the arena to save neutral nation. China is fully conscious of her own limitations, too, that, first of all, her collapsing economy cannot bear the strain of an all-out war for ten to twenty years, and secondly, she cannot fight a nuclear war without the assistance of Soviet Russia with whom she is at daggers drawn on ideological differences. These better doses of reality might have sobered the impetuous China. But we should not, nevertheless, lightly dismiss awar the psychological pulls and drives conceived and bred in the bosom of the villain. She longs to establish her supremacy in the East : and like a wolf eager to devour the lamb, she has started posing excuses of her territorial claims in India — and no less, in Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Russia. She has hastened to sign borders pacts with Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan, in order to demonstrate to the world that the lion in the den has no teeth.

We must not forget that the wolf, who has tasted human blood, is likely to ravish again in our land for a prey. The nation should not go in slumber. The Prime Minister has warned that the enemy is likely to repeat her invasion after monsoons this year, and so we shall have to keep ourselves all awake. It is now the time, when we should aside the cloak of neutrality and mobilise our military potentiality with the help of friendly nations. The Prime Minister should have avoided the vague strictures on the West-sponsored nuclear umbrella for the Capital and other cities of India, in his keeness to defend India's neutrality. Such an attitude on the part of India,

howsoever indeliberate tantamounts to discouraging, if not dispiriting the warmth and enthusiasm of our benefactors. No doubt, there are benefits of positive neutrality, in-so-far as by virtue of it Russia's neutrality in Sino-Indian War has been assured. But we should not be unduly suspicious of those who are willing to demonstrate their love by breaking vengeance upon the aggressor for outraging India's modesty. Above all, it is the morale of the people which can fight a national war. We can be inspired by the English who, during the Second World War, believed in "these are the days of fasting, and not feasting".

Colombo Proposals

Western Sector. With regard to the Western Sector, the Conference (held on 10th Dec. 1962 at Colombo) would like to make an appeal to the Chinese Government to carry out 20 kilometers withdrawal of their military posts.

The Conference would make an appeal to the Indian Government to keep their existing military position.

Pending final solution of the border dispute the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be demilitarised zone to be administered by civilian post of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous position of both India and China in that area.

Eastern Sector. With regard to the Eastern Sector, the Conference considers that the line of actual control in the area recognised by both the Governments could serve as a cease-fire line to their respective position. Remaining area in this sector can be settled in their future discussion.

Middle Sector. With regard to the Middle Sector, the Conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means without resorting to force.

Chinese Incursions into Sikkim

On January 19, 13 armed Chinese soldiers carrying a wireless set and accompanied by two civilians were noticed by the Indian border military, approximately two and a half miles inside Sikkim, South of Kongrala. They made good their escape into Tibetan territory. Government of India has, accordingly, lodged a strong protest against the latest intrusions by the Chinese tropps into Sikkim. It may be recalled that China has already built up large concentrations of armed forces and a network of military installations in Tibet on the other side of Sikkim. For the last several months China had

been making endeavours to intrude into Sikkim. It is reported that as early as on August 27, 1964 a Chinese military patrol had intruded into Sikkim across Nathula, followed by another intrusion on December 25 and 26, 1964.

Indian Note of Protest says : "The boundary between Sikkim and Tibet is well-defined and clearly recognised and there could be no misunderstanding at all as to where the border lies in this sector. Therefore, the Government of India is compelled to look upon these frequent intrusions as nothing but projections of Chinese aggressive moves and designs against India. The Government of India call upon the Chinese Government to refrain from such aggressive and provocative activities along the Tibet-Sikkim boundary."

The Chinese intrusions into Tibet-Sikkim border should not be taken so lightly, because history is a pointer that Chinese intrusions had started as early as in 1959 and even when in 1959 we had found major intrusions into the Indian territory, we have been simply depending upon the belief in the good sense of the neighbour ; but China on the other hand had deemed it as a manifestation of a weak and meek policy, with the result that ultimately we were taken by surprise when a massive aggression was committed by her on 20th October, 1962. We are sure this time our defence forces would not allow the tragedy to reoccur, because they are fully aware of the Chinese tactics. We do hope that the Government will also deal adequately with the intruders instead of pinning much hope on the good sense of China who is insensitive to all sense of shame.

The whole problem must be viewed in the larger perspective to understand that Chinese expansionism has not yet ended, rather after a little detented period China has started spreading herself on the other sides of her borders. India owes a responsibility to her protectorate of Sikkim. Government of India has reaffirmed its stand that it would not permit Sikkim to suffer the fate of Tibet which was forcibly occupied by China in 1952. Ever since the seizure of Tibet by China, the later had been living in the dreams of establishing her away in the Himalayan Kingdoms—Sikkim, Bhutan, and before long Nepal too. It should be remembered that during the days of Chinese massive aggression committed on India, Nepal had also openly supported China by virtually becoming her satellite. Let us imagine the strength of the enemy, when she is in a position to establish her foot-hold in Sikkim or Bhutan. India will lie unprotected, and there would be a great danger to her sovereignty.

Chinese Intrusions into Ladakh

Government of India has sent a strong note of protest, on April, 21, to the Government of China that on April a Chinese military patrol intruded approximately 6 miles west of the so-called line of

'actual control' in the Chip Chap River Valley region of Ladakh. Chinese intrusion into the Indian territory is not only in violation of the Colombo Proposals, but it has gone a step farther as the Chinese have crossed to 20 k.m. demilitarized zone the line of 'actual control.'

It may be recalled that consequent on Chinese massive aggression committed on India on October 20, 1962, six friendly nations of Asia and Africa (Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Ghana, U.A.R.) had conferred at Colombo on December 10, 1962, to make an appeal to both India and China to agree to cease-fire and peaceful negotiations for the settlement of the border dispute. The Colombo Proposals had stated that in the Western Sector (Ladakh) China should withdraw by 20 k.m. from the line of actual control, and that in the area thus vacated there should be civil posts set up by both India and China. China has not so far honoured the Colombo Proposals, in-so-far as China has, not withdrawn by 20 k.m. from the, line of actual control. The fresh intrusion has caused a further threat and has shown the expansionist designs of China, as China has even crossed the 'line of actual control' in the Western Sector contrary to the Colombo Proposals and the declaration of unilateral withdrawl by the Government of China.

It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not taken a very serious note of the fresh intrusion. On the face of it, the protest note was sent on April 21, although the intrusion took place on April 1. It should be borne in mind that fresh intrusions are timed with Pakistan's intrusions in the Rann of Kutch. As such, the sinister designs of China can be well judged. because China and Pakistan have signed the Defence Pact to sandwich India into discomfiture. Already we know that Pakistan has been tutored by China to put forth her claims of territory and to raise the border issue exactly following the foot-steps of the master (China). Time demands that a strong rejoinder should be accompanied with a stern resistance, so that the enemy may not be allowed to take the advantage for the second time. The bitter realization of the former Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru "Chinese aggression has opened our eyes" should open the eyes of the sitting Prime Minister.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Background History

Under the Geneva Agreement of 1954, Indo-China was divided into the States of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. North Vietnam being pro-Communist, enjoyed the support of Communist China, whereas South Vietnam being pro-Western remained under the U.S. protection. The Agreement had clearly recognised the independent sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the entire State of Vietnam. It had clearly provided for the conduct of elections in the country, since the military demarcation line was merely provisional. It was explicitly mentioned in the Agreement that military demarcation line would not constitute a political or territorial boundary. But the unification of Vietnam could not be possible in view of the tensions of hostility between the two States. North Vietnam alleges that U.S.A. have sent 25,000 troops to South Vietnam, besides supplying 700 air-crafts and other modern weapons of war. The interests of U.S.A. to protect South Vietnam from going into the hands of North Vietnam, and thence the Communist China, can be well-understood, because Western Powers are fully aware of the rising might of China which has become a source of threat to the countries in South-East Asia. Thus, the wagers are high: and the battle is not being fought between North Vietnam and South Vietnam, it is between their protectors, Communist China on one hand and U.S.A. on the other hand. It has always been the keen desire of the Western Powers that if the Third World War is to be fought, it should be near the homeland of Russia or China. Moreover, in view of the tremendous progress made by China in the recent past and the alarm that she has created in the minds of her neighbouring countries by launching a massive attack on India, it is the utmost effort of U.S.A., and other Western Powers alike, to contain China. But China, on the other hand, is also spreading her sphere, as even Indonesia seems to be much inclined towards her.

INTERNAL DISSENTIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Coup

The Troika regime of Gen. Minh, Gen. Khanh and Gen. Khiem was overthrown on September 13, 1964, when Brig. Gen. Lam Van Phat organised a bloodless coup. The coup was inspired by Catholic Generals with the support of young Buddhist Army

Officers. It may be recalled that the coup leader Brig. Gen. Phat was recently removed from Gen. Khanh's Cabinet as a result of reshuffle.

However, the coup fizzled out of the next day, when troops loyal to the Prime Minister Gen. Khanh regained control, Brig. Gen. Phat surrendered to the Government authorities. He, thus, became the fifth coup-leader to surrender to the Government and to be placed under arrest. It may be recalled that Maj. Gen. Duong Van Duc, Col. Huynh Van Ton, Col. Duyong Hien Nghia, and Brig. Gen. Duong Lam had earlier met with this fate. It was the third coup in the series of coups in the complex political scene in the South Vietnam since November last, when Gen. Minh had displaced President Diem from power.

The coup collapsed primarily due to American pressure on the rebel Gen. Phat and his followers to make way for the return of Gen. Khanh. The U.S. Government gave a full assurance to Gen. Khanh for all support to his regime and deplored moves to interfere with the scheme to give civilians a greater voice in the Government.

It may also be mentioned that the pro-Catholic and the pro-militarist coup grew weak as a result of the breaking away of Buddhist support. However, the collapse of the coup does not end the story of restlessness in South Vietnam. The situation has rather become all the more complex in view of the fact that the Army is not so powerful.

Viet Cong's Attack

The Viet Cong guerillas have now retaliated, as on November, 1, 1964. They have launched an attack on a fleet of U.S. air-bombers in Bien Hoa, hardly 10 miles North-East of Saigon. As a result of this attack, 6 Americans were killed and about 33 Servicemen were seriously injured. Viet Cong took special advantage of the change-over of Government in South Vietnam. They properly planned their attack after the Civilian Government was formed in South Vietnam by Phan Khao Suu on October 25. The special significance of the attack can be found from the fact that it synchronised with the first anniversary of the fall of Ngo Dinh Diem regime in South Vietnam.

It may be recalled that the U.S.A. had launched an attack on North Vietnam on 3rd August, 1964, on the plea that U.S.A. was compelled to take this action as a reactionary measure to North Vietnam's attack in the Tonkin Gulf. However, North Vietnam observed restraint, as she did not think it a political expediency to plunge into war at that moment. Besides, Communist China who had all along supported the guerillas of North Vietnam, had also kept silent since she did not like to enter into a major clash for which

U.S.A. seemed to be fully prepared. Thus, North Vietnam, who was watching with interest the change-over of the Government of Gen. Khanh, found it expedient to commit aggression. Moreover, China by now has demonstrated to the U.S.A. and to the rest of the world her strength as a result of the explosion of her atom bomb. Now even U.S. would think twice before thinking of crushing North Vietnam, and China thereto, as she had already conceived in her previous attack in August 1964. It will also be relevant to remember that Gen. Khanh had been preparing his country for sometime to launch an all-out attack on North Vietnam, and South Vietnam has been paratropping Commander in North Vietnam. Encouraged by their success they had entered even South China. The Viet Cong guerillas, on the other hand, have also been keeping South Vietnam engaged in clashes from time to time.

Martial Law in South Vietnam

Martial law has been introduced in Saigon on November 25, 1964, following street rioting in which hand grenades were thrown causing several casualties. All schools and university faculties have been closed, and curfew has been imposed in the Capital. Tensions mounted up, as the student demonstrators resorted to violence. The United States Ambassador, General Maxwell Taylor, has expressed his belief that air-raids on certain selected targets in North Vietnam and Pathet Lao-controlled parts of Laos will be needed to destroy training bases and communication routes of the rebels. The situation becomes complicated in view of the warning given by the Chinese Prime Minister. It is believed that if the American air-raids do take place and if North Vietnamese Army reacts with a land invasion, U.S.A. may have to send about 9 American Divisions to South Vietnam, which may result in an all-out war with China. Chinese Prime Minister, Chou-En-Lai has reasserted that "China and North Vietnam are as closely related as the lips and the teeth and that the Chinese people would never sit idle by, when aggression is being committed against their brotherly neighbour". The student demonstrators in South Vietnam have asked for the resignation of the Prime Minister. Although the demand is pressed by a few boys from half a dozen schools, yet there is no doubt that they are being inspired by various political groups. It will be curious to note that the Buddhists are also behind the scene.

It may be recalled that under the Geneva Agreement 1954, Indo-China was divided into four States, namely, North Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Ever since the end of Indo-Chinese war, tensions have been existing in these small States, since North Vietnam is pro-communist and has virtually grown into a stooge of China whereas South Vietnam has become an American puppet. The Geneva Agreement had clearly recognised the independent sovereignty,

unity and territorial integrity of the entire State of Vietnam, but due to extraneous influence, Vietnam has not been united so far. It may be remembered that the Agreement had clearly provided for the conduct of elections in Vietnam, because the military demarcation line between the two Vietnams was provisional, not constituting a political territorial boundary, South Vietnam alleges that North Vietnam and China, as also the Pathet Lao, are responsible for causing internal disturbances in South Vietnam, as also external aggression. On the other hand, North Vietnam has allegations to make that 25,000 American troops have been sent to South Vietnam besides other war equipment which has been made available by U.S.A. South Vietnam has seen many changes in the Government ever since the military coup organised by General Khanh. On September 30, 1964, Brig. Gen. Lam Van Phat had organised a bloodless coup against Gen. Khanh, but it had fizzled out on the next day, when the 5th coup leader had surrendered to the Government. In any case, Gen. Khanh's regime had controlled the internal situation, although tensions continued to exist.

During his regime, U.S.A. had launched a massive attack on North Vietnam on 5th August, 1964, in the Gulf of Tokin, as a reactionary attack on North Vietnam's U.S. destroyers. Now when the Civilian Government has been formed in South Vietnam under Phan Khao Suu the internal disturbances have also cropped up, because, North Vietnam and China have been carefully watching the time. In the absence of the strong regime of Gen. Khanh local disturbances have gained momentum and South Vietnam is in the grip of civil war.

Coup

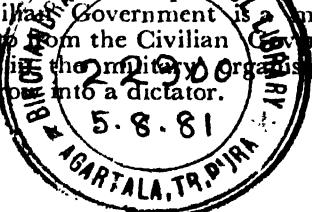
South Vietnam witnessed another coup on December 20, 1964 against the Civilian Government of Phan Khao Suu. However, the head of the State Phan Khao Suu and the Prime Minister, Tran Van Huong, have been allowed to hold office on the condition that they would form a legislature within a period of 90 days. The coup was organised by the "Young Turks", following an attempt by Gen. Nguyen Khanh, the Commander-in-Chief, to dismiss 40 General from the army on the charges of their support at the Buddhist Opposition against the Civilian Government.

The coup was staged by Gen. Nguyen Khanh, and it was the third coup in one year. Gen. Khanh was supported by the army. He dissolved the National Council and placed some of its members under house arrest. It may be recalled that the National Council was set up in September last after demonstrations against Gen. Khanh's military rule. National Council has, all along, been functioning as the Advisory and the Legislative body.

The Civilian Government, even since its formation in October, 1964, has never been able to function properly, because the real control has all along been vested in the hands of an independent military organisation which was charged with the task of conduct of war against the Viet Cong. The present coup was inspired by the ultimatum given by the Buddhists to the Premier to dissolve his Government. Of course, the Buddhists and the military leaders agree insofar as the replacement of the Government by the strong Government is concerned so as to drive out the menace of the Viet Cong, but the religious opposition serves as a hindrance in between. Even the support that Gen. Khanh has, now, got from the Buddhists is a matter of uncertainty. It may be recalled that, earlier, Gen. Khanh's Government weakened by the Buddhist demonstrations in August, 1964. His position was further threatened by a Catholic disturbance, whereas his come-back was duly supported by the Buddhists. But Gen. Khanh accuses the Buddhists that they are puppets in the hands of the Viet Cong. In any case, one thing is clear that now when Gen. Khanh has his third come-back, it will not be possible for him to stabilise his position without the positive support of the Buddhists. It will also be relevant to remember that the Civilian Government has all along been shirking general elections for fear of conditions of uncertainty.

The 'Young Turks' may, however, civilian powers of Government in their desire to demonstrate their will to support the Civilian Government. It is also probable that the 'Young Turks' have been assured of positive support by the Buddhist leaders, with the condition that the Government would weed out communists and pay due respect to the rights of the Buddhists.

On the other hand, there is one serious complication due to unpleasant relations that Gen. Khanh has recently developed with the U.S.A. His anti-U.S. criticism has obviously created a change of hearts in the U.S.A., but U.S.A. nevertheless wishes to form a strong stable Government with civilian co-operation. Whatever be the prejudices that the U.S.A. may have against Gen. Khanh, one thing is quite certain that the Viet Cong had become very active only when the Civilian Government came into power. The threatening attitude adopted by North Vietnam and China also synchronised with the formation of the Civilian Government in South Vietnam. As such, it can be concluded that as long as there was a strong rule of Gen. Khanh the chances of aggression from outside were comparatively less. In the present disturbed conditions, the stable Government is the only answer to the problem, but Gen. Khanh is capable of forming such a Government. A point of reconciliation is, however, needed. A pure Civilian Government is a mere dream; although it would be expedient to form the Civilian Government with authority, more or less, vested in the military organisation. Or, a military man may virtually grow into a dictator.



Coup

South Vietnam passed through another internal storm on January 23, as Buddhist leaders and students launched a violent campaign against the Government of Premier Tran Van-Houng. The Buddhists allege that the South Vietnamese Government and U.S. Ambassador have caused a cruel policy which compelled the Buddhists to resort to suicide by fire. This was followed by another military coup organised by the Young Turks under the leadership of General Khanh on January 27, when they seized control of South Vietnam and overthrew the Government of Tran Van-Houng. However, it was a bloodless coup. It may be recalled that about three months ago, General Khanh was de facto ruler of South Vietnam. He was pressed to relinquish his power to the Civilian Government. Now he has re-emerged as more powerful. General Khanh, has, however, assured that he would not take part in the Government and that elections will be held on March 29. He has promised a Democratic Government, composed of the real representatives of the people. It may be remembered that this was the forth coup in the last 18 months that South Vietnam has seen.

Phan Khao Suu has, however, been reinstated as the Head of the State for the time being as an interim arrangement. Nguyen Exuan has been appointed the Prime Minister.

The coup has given a scene of joy to the Buddhists, and as such, it may be concluded that perhaps they would extend a greater support to the Government. It may also be remembered that as a result of the indiscreet statement of U.S.A. Ambassador Maxwell Taylor, cordial relations no longer exist between the U.S.A. and General Khanh although General Khanh had earlier enjoyed the support of the U.S.A. Even now the U.S. supports Gen. Khanh is a diplomatic gesture.

The last coup in South Vietnam prior to the present coup of 27th January was on the December 21, 1964, against the Civilian Government of the Phan Khao Suu. That coup was also organised by the 'Young Turks'—the military Generals. The step was taken by the 'Young Turks' after Commander-in-Chief General Khanh tried to dismiss 40 General from the army on the charges of their support to the Buddhist opposition against the Civilian Government.

The Civilian Government formed since October, 1964 never enjoyed conditions of stability, because the real control had all along been vested in the hands of the military organisation. The attitude of the Buddhists is also quite perplexing, because although, they supported the coup on December 20, 1964 and the present coup on January 27, 1965 in August 1964 Buddhists had raised demonstrations against General Khanh. General Khanh has always accused the Buddhists that they are the puppets of Viet Cong.

Coup

A coup was organized on February 19, 1965 to topple the three-day old Government of Premier Phan Huy Quat. The Coup Leaders accused militant religious groups of indisciplined conduct, obviously referring thereby to the Buddhists. The coup was organised by Col. Tao, and it was supported by Roman Catholic group. Troops loyal to General Ngyun Khanh regained partial control of Saigon and gained victory over the group of rebel troops who had organised the coup. However, after the collapse of the coup the very next day, Gen. Khanh was replaced by Maj. Gen. Tran Van Minh (Popularly known as 'Little Minh') as South Vietnam's Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief. There has been mounting dissatisfaction unto Gen. Khanh, and it is believed that the coup attempt spurred his opponents to take action. (The new Commander-in-chief 'Little Minh', is mostly aloof from politics. He is, thus, distinct from the previous Chief of State Lt. Gen. Duong Van Minh, who is now broadly.

Military Coup

A military coup was organized in South Vietnam on June 12 when the Chief of State, Phan Khao Suu, was ousted and the Prime Minister, Dr. Phan Huy Quat resigned following the political crisis. The Governmental control has been taken over by the Military Council, headed by Gen. Nugyn Vyan Thieu, Deputy Premier and Defence Minister in Dr. Quat's Government. The Council assumed Military-cum-civil powers.

The resignation of Mr. Suu and Dr. Quat was quite expected ; and it was presumably quite known to the U.S.A. But it was, nevertheless, unexpected that the crisis would explode when Gen. Maxwell Taylor, the U.S. Ambassador in South-Vietnam, was away in Washington for consultation with his Government. The military coup does not materially alter U.S. policy in South Vietnam. U.S.A. is maintaining its die-hard policy and is out to crush North Vietnam as also the Viet Cong revolutionary element which has been disturbing the country for sometime. It may be recalled that frequent change-over of the Government in South Vietnam makes one assume that South Vietnam is a land of 'no Government'. But one thing must be borne in mind that from the time Gen. Khanh disappeared from the scene the Government became weak to control the Viet Cong revolutionaries as also to keep North Vietnam's aggression away from its borders.

It should, however, be borne in mind that a Civilian Government in South Vietnam is a mere dream. That is why the Governments have been most instable in that country. It may also be not forgotten that the exit of Gen. Khanh, who is a powerful man of South Vietnam, was mainly due to the unpleasant relations which developed between the U.S. Ambassador and Gen. Khanh, as the anti-U.S. criticism by Gen. Khanh had turned the U.S. Government against him.

SOUTH VIETNAM (U.S.) ATTACK ON NORTH VIETNAM

The clash between North Vietnam and South Vietnam restarted, as the 7th fleet and South Vietnamese planes and warships have, in collaboration with U.S.'s Air-force, intensified their attack on North Vietnam's military installations in a bid to clear off the Viet Cong store-houses. Government of North Vietnam alleges that on January 15, three U.S. jet planes coming from the direction of Xieng Khonang in Laos strafed the village of Moung H p in Western Nghe Province of North Vietnam. The joint U.S. South Vietnam and Laotian action against North Vietnam symbolises that South East Asia is once, again, becoming the arena of war.

This was followed by another massive attack by U.S.A. on 7th Feb. The action followed a Viet Cong attack on U.S. air-base and U.S. camp, at Pleiku in which 7 U.S. Advisers were killed and 80 wounded in addition to the destruction of 11 helicopters and one plane. The attack was launched on North Vietnam's Barracks and staging areas. According to the White House statement it is entirely limited to military areas in North Vietnam, which were supplying men and arms to the Guerillas. U.S. attack has, however, been further intensified by simultaneous attacks on the Laotian borders. A battery of Hawk anti-craft missiles was set up at Da Nang air-base, and Vietnamese armed forces have tightened the alert.

The Government of U.S.A. is determined to crush the communists altogether, because according to U.S. circle, the communists are becoming highly aggressive for them. General Khanh, the then Commander-in-Chief of South Vietnam, made it clear that although the South Vietnam and U.S.A. desire the integration of Vietnam, yet there are no possibilities for talks as long as the Communists are not set right. It looks the Government of U.S.A. is determined to decide the issue once for all, because it has the Korean grudge to satisfy. On the other hand, the Government of North Vietnam has made a fervent appeal to China and China has, in turn, assured North Vietnam of all help. It is significant to note that Chou-En-Lai and Mao were among other Chinese leaders who participated in anti-American demonstrations and Chou-En-Lai has personally handed over a note of encouragement and support to the North Vietnamese Embassy. China has also made an appeal to the Socialist countries that it is their duty at this moment to give their whole hearted support to North Vietnam. Obviously, China wants to remind Soviet Russia of her obligations towards a fellow socialist country.

The North Vietnamese Government has protested against bombing by U.S.A. and South Vietnam and has called upon Britain and Soviet Union, Co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference, to ensure peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The special significance of the attack lies in the fact that U.S.S.R. Prime Minister Kosygin was personally present at the time of attack. This has, obviously put Soviet Russia into an embarrassing position. However, both Russia and China have yet not finally determined their stand. There are indications that China has made up her mind and has given counter-threats, and mild threats have also come from Soviet Russia. The Chinese Government has already declared in all seriousness that an invasion on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is an invasion on the People's Republic of China. In U.S.A. there is an atmosphere of National Emergency insofar as the U.S. Government is anxiously awaiting the reaction of Russia and China, and it is carefully observing whether Russia and China would translate their threats in deeds.

It may be recalled that North Vietnam had become aggressive towards South Vietnam, when the Civilian Government was formed for some time in October, 1964, in South Vietnam. But ever since the military coup organised by the 'Young Turks' militant activities of South Vietnam have been revived. Now it appears that North Vietnam is looking to China to come to her rescue, but China, on the other hand, is observing some restraint, because at this stage China would not like immediately to be involved in a direct clash with U.S.A. although only last month immediately after her nuclear explosions, she had adopted for sometime a provocative attitude towards U.S.A. U.S. planes had effectively struck in the Gulf of Tonkin as a retaliatory measure against the North Vietnamese and Chinese attack when U.S. planes were shot down. Perhaps China is waiting for an appropriate time, because she understands fully well that a direct clash with U.S.A. would and must flare up into a major clash insofar as U.S.A. would never miss an opportunity to take revenge for the loss of 96,000 American soldiers that the Chinese had killed in the battle-field of Korea.

U.S.A. had already started her campaign of containment of China, and she would go to any extent in utilising her guided missile bases at Bangkok to decide the issue once for all with China who is becoming a nuisance to the democratic worlds. On the other hand, North Vietnam looks in her helplessness towards Russia, but Russia has to decide her policy only after watching the attitude of China. Although she would do everything possible to come to the rescue of North Vietnam and particularly against U.S.A., yet she would not like to come side by side with China. It can, thus, be concluded that against the U.S. support to South Vietnam, North Vietnam can count upon either the support of Soviet Russia or China, but not both at the same time.

At last the Government of U.S.A. has come forward with its massive aerial attacks of North Vietnam to counteract later's intrusions into South Vietnam (the pro-Western Vietnam). Ever since the exist of General Khanh from the Government and the formation of the Civilian Government in South Vietnam in October, 1964, North Vietnam's attitude became provocative. During the regime of General Khanh South Vietnam had been giving counter-blast to North Vietnam who had come to an open clash with South Vietnam. But the general warfare supported by the Viet Cong (Communist in South Vietnam) aggravated the situation. The Viet Cong received the support of North Vietnam and of the Communist China, with the result that ultimately the Government of South Vietnam had to take a positive stand in the matter. For long, Vietnam had been causing a great anxiety to U.S.A. because ever since the division, in 1954, into North Vietnam and South Vietnam, North Vietnam, has been playing in the lap of China and, thus, causing provocations to South Vietnam. Government of U.S.A. had, ultimately, to take a final decision, because earlier Viet Cong revolt in South Vietnam, engineered by Hanoi, was highly provocative. Earlier, Government of U.S.A. had bombarded North Vietnam to counteract the shooting down of U.S. planes. U.S. Senate has endorsed Government's determination to decide the Vietnam issue once for all.

The stakes are high, but the Western diplomats think 'now or never'. If the threat of communism is to be removed from South East Asia and the containment of China is to be effected, it is the most expedient time for the Western Powers to strike when the iron is hot. The Western Powers know it for certain that China is out to support North Vietnam, but, although Russia is also willing to give all military help to North Vietnam, yet she would do so only with a clear condition that China does not come into the picture. Of course, by now Russia has rendered a luke-warm military aid to Noth Vietnam, yet North Vietnam knows it for certain that Soviet Russia would not give a whole-hearted support to North Vietnam as long as North Vietnam remains a satellite of Communist China. Ideological dispute between Russia and China has brought about a bitter realisation among the leaders in Hanoi who now seem to be in a willing mood to accept peaceful negotiations, rather the unconditional surrender. Looking to the delicacy of the situation, it can be easily predicted that the battle is already won: and if the Western Powers intensify bombing of Hanoi by pursuing the attacks, before long North Vietnam may completely surrender. Now the question arises why China who had all along giving assurances to North Vietnam is not coming forward for open clash? China needs sometime more for being in the rival position in nuclear warfare before she involves herself into a declared war with U.S.A. In fact, the issue has taken such a shape, that today there is no more conflict between North Vietnam and South Vietnam, but it really exists between U.S.A. on the one hand and China on the other.

Perhaps many people do not know the hard fact that the Agreement of 1954 which led to the division on Vietnam into North Vietnam and South Vietnam did not provide for a lasting division. It had clearly stated that the division is provisional and that ultimately North Vietnam and South Vietnam must be united. Today U.S.A. puts forward her plea that she would be willing to hold talks with North Vietnam on the clear condition of the reunification of Vietnam. It is quite definite, as long as Vietnam is not re united, provocateurs would alway continue to exploit the situation. Moreover, the economy of North Vietnam and South Vietnam cannot stand the strain.

In view of the serious proportions that the present clash between U.S.A. and North Vietnam has taken and in view of the fact that the Viet Cong in South Vietnam has taken and in view of the fact that the Viet Cong in the South Vietnam has taken retaliatory measures against the U.S. Embassy, the tensions are mounting up. Accordingly, 17 non-aligned nations have made a joint appeal that the tensions in Vietnam must end for peaceful negotiations without any preconditions. It may be recalled that earlier U.S.A. had clearly stated that it would fix up certain conditions of its own before it would agree to a settlement. It is, however, fortunate that Government of U.S.A., promptly responded to the joint appeal. The appeal implored that foreign interference which obstructs political solution, should be stopped.

Indian Plan on Vietnam

The Government of North Vietnam has categorically rejected India's proposal for the deployment of Afro-Asian force in Vietnam to control the demarcation of land between the North and South Vietnam. India had made this proposal in May last in the capacity of Chairman of the International Control Commission.

The Government of North Vietnam has accused India of indirectly encouraging, through the plan in the sleeve, the united stages to sabotage the 1954 Geneva Agreement, as it would tend to perpetuate the division of Vietnam.

It may be recalled that in the division of Indo-China into four States, namely, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Combodia, Laos, the demarcation between North Vietnam and South Vietnam was of a provisional nature. The Geneva Agreement of 1954 had categorically stated that the division of Vietnam was purely provisional and that ultimately Vietnam would be united as one entity. In fact, the division between North Vietnam and South Vietnam has reached such a serious pitch, that it has become a troubled spot in the world. Judging by the determination of U.S.A. who seems to have resolved to end with North Vietnam once for all, the situation appears to be

very explosive. In fact, the war in Vietnam today is another Korean war in which the two major forces *i.e.*, U.S.A. and China are there in action. Ever since the creation of North Vietnam, China has always been supporting North Vietnam for intrusion into South Vietnam. Rather, the Chinese spies have been responsible for strengthening the South Vietnamese rebels popularly known as Viet Cong.

U.S. President has categorically given a rejoinder to the entire world that U.S.A. would not listen to the entire world that U.S.A. would not listen to the advice of any friendly nation in Vietnamese dispute. In fact U.S.A. considers it to be most expedient to get involved in the Sino-American war and, thereby to settle the past dues of the Korean warfare in which 96,000 American soldiers were killed by the Chinese. It may also be borne in mind that Thailand is being used as a N.A.T.O. base for any eventual clash that U.S.A. may have with a communist country in South East Asia.

Although North Vietnam is suffering heavy losses, yet she is giving a persistent resistance. She is looking to China for support and, no less, to Russia. But due to ideological clash between Russia and China, Soviet Russia is not in a mood to help North Vietnam as long as China stands by North Vietnam. China is also fully conscious of the responsibilities and is engaged in delaying tactics, not because she is afraid of U.S.A. but because she would wish to take some time more to build her atomic energy strength so that in ultimate clash, which will soon assume the form of the Third World War, China may not be afraid of the use of nuclear weapons.

SOUTH VIETNAM'S ATTACK ON CAMBODIA

Cambodia alleges that South Vietnam and U.S.A. have launched an air-attack on two Cambodian military bases, Dak Dam and Banteai Chakrey, on 24th October, 1964. Cambodian Government has warned that if "aggression from South Vietnam does not cease immediately, Cambodian Armed Forces will answer it with a blow for a blow. Cambodia is considering even severing diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. and recognising Viet Cong 'National Liberation Front.' It appears that Cambodia has decided to retaliate. Cambodia alleges that earlier the South Vietnamese and the U.S. Forces had attacked the Cambodian village, Anlong Kres in Kompongoham Province, with two F-101 supersonic aircrafts. It was, thus, the third attack since October 20, 1964; as such, Cambodia has lost all patience with South Vietnam.

International Control Commission in Cambodia has also submitted its Report that there was conclusive evidence that violations of Cambodian territory were the responsibility of South Vietnam's Armed Forces. The Report was signed by the Indian and Polish Members with the third Member from Canada dissenting on such incidents. It is probable that Cambodia may move for an International Conference to impress upon the world the seriousness of the situation caused by South Vietnam's attacks on Cambodia's Eastern borders. On the other hand, it is believed that Cambodia may play in the hands of Communist China, because China would be too willing to help Cambodia to retaliate and cause another Tonking Gulf incident. It is also known that China has assured to supply arms to Cambodia, and it is quite curious to find that even France has offered military assistance to Cambodia for retaliation against South Vietnam and U.S.A. However, U.S.A. has offered a different explanation that the incident was simply an error on the part of South Vietnamese pilots.

Cambodia has already started the campaign. It is reported that an Amerian C-123 Transport Aircraft was shot down on 24th October, 1964 by the Cambodian anti-aircraft batteries.

South Vietnam's Warning to Cambodia

The Government of South Vietnam gave a challenge to Cambodia on December 1, to take retaliatory action, in case Cambodia insists on entering into a border agreement with the

Viet Cong. It has made it clear that South Vietnam would cut off all of Cambodia's Mekong river trade normally routed through South Vietnam, thereby cutting off Cambodia's trade with all other countries except China.

The Prime Minister of Cambodia is reported to have said that he might recognise North Vietnam and also conclude a border agreement with the Viet Cong. It is quite possible, Cambodia might have only tried to exploite the situation by giving a warning to U.S.A. that in case she does not come to terms with Cambodia, the later might be compelled to adopt reactionary methods. But South Vietnam has taken exception to these overtures, because they indicate a scheme in the sleeve.

It may be recalled that South Vietnam and U.S.A. had launched an air-attack on two Cambodian military bases on October 24, 1964. Cambodia alleges that it was the third attack by South Vietnam, as supported by U.S.A. since October 20, 1964. The International Control Commission in Cambodia also gave its report to the effect that there was conclusive evidence to prove that violation of Cambodian territory was the responsibility of South Vietnam's Armed Forces. Although the report was signed only by the Indian and Polish Members and the third Member from Canada head dissented, yet it pronounced the third party opinion on South Vietnam's aggressive designs towards her neighbours.

Now Cambodia is left with two courses the reactionary measure that she can adopt is that she may choose assistance from Communist China, as the later would be quite willing to help Cambodia, against South Vietnam and U.S.A. Of course, China has already assured Cambodia to supply arms. To complicate the matters, France has also offered military assistance to Cambodia for retaliatory measures that Cambodia may take against the aggressive designs of South Vietnam and U.S.A. The other course open to Cambodia is to exert its pressure on U.S.A. and South Vietnam and thereby to seek the approval of the later to come to a border agreement. Accordingly, talks are being held in this regard. Cambodia, which till recently had been claiming herself to be a neutral State, now seems to be in a quandary whether she should pick up a trouble with U.S.A. and South Vietnam, or she should avoid it. In any case, one thing is clear that if Cambodia adopts a conciliatory attitude towards Viet Cong, South Vietnam is not going to tolerate it. Else, China, and North Vietnam will start poking their nose. Nevertheless, a clash in one form or the other is bound to cloud the trouble-torn Indo-China, now split up into the States of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos.

Cambodia's Border conflict with South Vietnam

Cambodia's border conflict with South Vietnam has assumed serious proportions in view of the ultimatum given by Cambodia to South Vietnam and the U.S.A. that if the infiltrations of South Vietnam continued into the Cambodian border, the later would be compelled to recognise North Vietnam as also the Viet Cong. The recent talks between Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the U.S.A. have not been able to resolve the conflict. The main reason for the deadlock was that Cambodia demanded compensation for the victims of air-raid from across the border. It may be recalled that the Government of South Vietnam and the Government of U.S.A. have admitted in principle that the South Vietnamese Air force had bombed a Cambodian village near the frontier in March, 1964. This was followed by two major incidents in August and in October 1964, respectively. It is reported that in August South Vietnamese Air Force plane, which chased the Viet Cong Guerillas, was halted by Cambodian border patrol police ; and in October one of the three U.S. Air Force planes flying over the Cambodian village was shot down. For these acts of aggression, the Government of South Vietnam and the Government of U.S.A. have offered the explanation of incidental mistake which arose as a result of undemarcated border.

I should not be difficult to resolve the issue, once the conflicting parties agree on a certain formula to clearly demarcate border between South Vietnam and Cambodia. The Government of U.S.A. has already asked Cambodia that it should have direct negotiations with the Government of South Vietnam in this regard. But in view of the present tensions existing between the two nations, no possibility of reconciliation exists at this time. Obviously, the only possibility lies in U.S. mediatory attempts, and that may go a long way to solve the problem. It may be recalled that South Vietnam has already given a counter-threat to close the Mekong River route for Cambodia's trade, which will virtually mean economic isolation of Cambodia who would be left with China alone to trade with. This is also a dangerous situation, because Cambodia, as a virtue of necessity, will then have to play in the hands of China. This bitter reality seems to have been appreciated by U.S.A. and South Vietnam. On the other hand, although Cambodia has given a threat to recognise North Vietnam and to support Viet Cong, yet in the heart of hearts even Cambodia does not desire so. It can be safely concluded that although on both the sides there are threats and counter-threats, yet no party is willing to take a recourse to the action with, it understands, will be harmful to its own interests as well. Perhaps, it is the high time that U.N.O. interferes in the matter and checks the problem from flaring up into a major clash of arms.

Cambodia-U.S. Diplomatic Rupture

Cambodia decided, on May 3, to sever her diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. However, it does not affect the Consular relations

between the two countries which would continue to be maintained for the present. Although for sometime realtions between Cambodia and U.S.A. had been quite strained, yet the immediate cause is Cambodian reaction to the American Press criticism on the Cambodian Queen. It may be recalled that earlier the Government of Cambodia had accused South Vietnam and U.S. aircraft for having infiltrated into the Cambodian borders.

Diplomatic circles believe that this synchronises with the development of healt heir relations between Cambodia and China. It may be remembered that after the division of Indo-China in 1954 into North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, Cambodia has all along been a neutral state. Moreover, its Prime Minister, Prince Norodom Shanouk, has been quite prominent in his role as a neutralist, to maintain peace in South East Asia. It appears that China is out to rally round herself the neutral nations in South East Asia, as she is anxious to develop a strong position for domination in that region.

NORTH VIETNAM'S THREAT TO LAOS

North Vietnam is adopting a bullying attitude towards neutral Laos. North Vietnam fears that Laos has grown into a Western pocket and, as such it poses a threat to the sovereignty of North Vietnam communique broadcast on November, 23, 1964 alleges that the United States and Royal Laotian Air-Force aircrafts had launched flights and aerial attacks, along the Laotian-North Vietnam borders. Accordingly. North Vietnam has given a warning that she would be compelled to take all legitimate measures of self-defence.

Laos, on the other hand, feels that this is a mere propaganda being organised by North Vietnam in order to pave ground for an ultimate massive attack that North Vietnam seems to be in a mood to launch on the neutral State of Laos. It is reported that many anti-aircraft batteries in Laos are being manned by North Vietnamese gunners and that other Viet Cong forces were also engaged in the war. It appears that North Vietnam is trying to make her argument strong that her forces had entered into Laos in order to protect her own borders from the American attack.

It may be recalled that six United States Air Force reconnaissance planes were shot down by North Vietnamese Air Force in South Central Laos. North Vietnam, on the other hand, had raised a propaganda that "the United States has continued to send air and naval aircraft to intrude repeatedly into the air space and territorial waters of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. A number of localities in the de-militarised zone were bombed and strafed on October 16 and 17, 1964. The Cha Lo border post and the coastal area of Quanghinh Province were raided on October 28, 1964."

Ever since its inception, Laos has been in the grip of tensions, since the neutral Government in neutral Laos had never been able to function properly under the constant threat of the Pathet Lao (the Communist group). The threat of the Pathet Lao had been responsible for the voluntary exile of the Prime Minister, Prince Souvanna Pheuma. Thereafter, pro-Western Prime Minister, Prince Boun Oum, found it a greater problem to face since the Communist-held Provinces in Laos continued to be a source of trouble to the Central Government. To complicate matters the Governments of North Vietnam and China have been constantly instigating and supporting the Pathet Lao against the Neutral Central Government of Laos. With the recall of Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist

leader, as the Prime Minister, the things have not improved, because the problem has not been attacked at its roots. The real trouble in Laos lies in the continuance of military powers vested in the hands of the two separatist provinces of Laos which are predominantly under the influence of the Pathet Lao. As long as this inherent defect in the Geneva Agreement of 1954 is not removed and all units are not merged into the Central Army, the threat of Pathet Lao cannot be removed. It may be recalled that after the division of Indo-China, in 1954, into North Vietnam (pro-communist), South Vietnam (pro-Western) Cambodia (neutral) and Laos (neutral), China has always been trying to cause infiltrations in North Vietnam as also to use North Vietnamese agents for entering into the neutral States of Cambodia and Laos. It is a plain fact that North Vietnam, as the stooge of China, would like to continue providing support to Pathet Lao so as to see that the Western influence or even the neutral Government is not able to function to the disadvantage of communism in South-East Asia. One thing is pretty clear that these four States of Indo-China are constantly clashing and unless there is unity among the States, the sources of trouble will continue to boil up and South-East Asia would remain in the grip of tensions.

CHINA'S INTERFERENCE IN MALWI

Chinese expansionism has extended itself to Africa. Recently, newly-liberated State of Malwi found Chinese dirty politics behind the Malwi Cabinet crisis. Africa should not appear to be a place of new interest for China, if we remember that out of 48 Embassies that China has established abroad, one-third of them are in the African countries. But now with a powerful base in Dar-es-Salaam, China has started influencing even Central Africa. Recently, six of the nine Ministers in Dr. Banda's Cabinet pressed forth their resignations, because China had given an offer of aid worth 18 million pounds on the condition that the State of Malwi should recognize the locus-standing of Peking China.

It may be recalled that Dr. Hastings Banda has already proclaimed his faith in the policy of neutrality and non-alignment. Moreover, in Malwi's Independence celebrations in July 1964, Malwi had invited both Formosa and Communist China to participate. China had tried her utmost to prevail upon Dr. Banda to cancel the invitation to Formosa, but Dr. Banda stuck to his policy of neutrality. As a result of it, China in resentment, did not participate in the Independence celebrations of Malwi, although she kept silent on the issue. The rift in Banda's Cabinet developed, when his Cabinet colleagues questioned his stand against Communist China and the Communist Embassies Staff. However, China has not succeeded in her mission to cause a dead-lock in the newly-liberated State of Malwi. But it should be deemed as a signal to China's ambitions designs to interfere in the affairs of Central Africa.

CYPRUS DEADLOCK

Background of the case

Cyprus has been the British colony, and ever since its Freedom from the colonial rule it had been the trouble-spot of tensions between the Greek Cypriots in majority and the Turkish Cypriots in majority and the Turkish Cypriots in minority. Initially, the Governments of Greece and Turkey clashed since both claimed their right on the island of Cyprus. But with the good offices of Britain, the conflict was resolved and, accordingly, it was decided to set up the Independent Government of Cyprus under the Greek Cypriot as President and the Turkish Cypriot as Vice-President. But the Turkish Cypriots in minority have, of late, begun to feel that the attitude of the Greek Cypriots in power is harassing and persecuting towards the Turkish Cypriots. Greek Cypriots are Christians, whereas the Turkish Cypriots are Muslims. Therefore, religious conflicts are a hindrance to mutual understanding. Besides, the Greek Cypriots are being supported by the Government of Greece, whereas the Turkish Cypriots enjoy the patronage and protection of the Government of Turkey. The Western Powers are also in a quandry, since they find Greece and Turkey, the member nations of N.A.T.O. in clash over Cyprus. It is, therefore, the utmost wish of the Western Powers to resolve the Conflict : but as the things are, the Eastern Powers Greek Cypriots for the obvious reason that Greek civilization has greatly influenced the civilisation all over Europe.

The problem has flared up recently on account of the release of Gen. Grivas who is a staunch leader of 'Enosis' (integration with Greece). His release has alarmed Turkish Cypriots who have begun to fear that once again the old question 'Enosis' would crop up. On the other hand, the Turkish Cypriots demand the partition of the country, as a necessary safeguard of the interest of the Turkish Cypriots. But in any case, it would be an error of judgement to believe that President Mikarios is, in any way, favourably inclined towards Gen. Grivas or that he would influence him in any way. The recent compromising attitude adopted by President Makarios should, however, soften the situation, since the Government of Greece is also in favour of avoiding a clash, as far as possible.

The island of Cyprus in Africa continues to pose a serious problem to the United Nations, and, no less, to the Western Powers, who have vested interest in their N.A.T.O. allies, namely, Greece and Turkey. The U.N. mandate has been extended for a period of

three months. According to the Secretary General, U Thant, the Cyprus Government is committed to unrestricted freedom of movement for the U.N. Force. But the situation should be studied from a different angle. Some members of the U.N. Force have been recently caught red-handed, while smuggling arms to the Turkish Cypriots. The partisan attitude on the part of the United Nations, not only belittles the prestige of the World Body, but it complicates the Cyprus issue all the more. It is yet to be seen whether the Cyprus Government will allow the U.N. Force to create buffer zones between the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot positions. It may be fully remembered that the United Nations Force is not a position to force the dismantling of the military posts on both the sides or to disarm the irregular. However, a relief may be found in President Makarios' recent attitude of re-conciliation, as is indicated from his agreement to a political cease-fire resulting in realization and, consequently, the lifting a blockade of Kokkina, the Turkish Cypriot village. He has offered to compromise on the rotation of Turkish troops stationed in Cyprus under the Treaty of Alliance of 1960. It appears that the Government of Greece has given a sober counsel to President Makarios not to get involved in a new trouble with the Turkish Cypriots or with Turkey.

Cyprus Deadlock

A new drift is reported in the Cyprus deadlock as U.N. mediator, Galo Plaza, has suggested setting up a permanent U.N. Commissioner for Cyprus. He has pointed out that the question of the Union of Cyprus with Greece *i.e.* 'Enosis' was potentially the most explosive aspect of the Cyprus problem. In his opinion, ultimate settlement might be expected to new bargain or atleast, modification of the 'treaties' of guarantee, and 'alliance' to which Greece and Turkey were parties. He reports that his efforts of reconciliation have failed and he urges the parties to the dispute to get together at some suitable place on the earliest possible occasion. It may be recalled that the former President of Ecuador was appointed U.N. mediator of Cyprus last September. He had expressed his doubt about the success of division of the Cyprus State into two federated States—under the Greek Cypriots, and the other the Turkish-Cypriots. In his opinion, it would result in a lasting discontent and unrest.

MALAYSIA'S CLASH WITH INDONESIA

Ever since the formation of Malaysia on 16th September, 1963, a clash between Malaysia and Indonesia has disturbed peace in South-East Asia. The Federation of Malaysia was formed by grouping together Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak. But Indonesia strongly objected to the Federation on the plea that she has her interest in the territory of North Borneo. She insisted on holding referendum in North Borneo before the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. Malaysia conceded to it, and the referendum was held. It clearly endorsed the formation of Malaysia. But Indonesia has raised a storm that referendum should have been held before the formation of Malaysia, when there could be no fear of exploitation and influence. Accordingly, Indonesia has all along been adopting a threatening attitude towards Malaysia, and has all along been adopting a threatening attitude towards Malaysia, and has openly declared her determination to crush Malaysia.

The main cause is the battle for supremacy. Federation of Malaysia becomes a strong nation which Indonesia cannot tolerate. The formation of Malaysia with the combination of Singapore in particular, reduces the communist influence. Indonesia, on the other hand, has pro-communist leanings. The issue has grown complicated, because the Western Powers are openly supporting Malaysia whereas Indonesia counts upon the communist assistance.

Indonesia went to the extent of dropping parachutists into the Malaysian territory. This caused a storm in the tea cup of the U.N.O. Malaysia achieved her purpose of creating public opinion in the Security Council in condemnation of Indonesia's attack. It may be recalled that Norwegian Resolution in the Security Council sought the U.N. condemnation of Indonesia for landing of Indonesia-based paratroopers in Malaysian territory on September 2, 1964. However, Russia vetoed the Norwegian Resolution on September 17, only two member countries of the Security Council, namely, Russia and Czechoslovakia voted against the Resolution (It may, be remarked, Soviet Russia used this strong powerful weapon of veto for 2nd time). As a result of the Russian veto, the debate on Malaysia in the Security Council ended without any formal U.N. pronouncement.

Nevertheless Malaysia is quite willing to reopen talks with Indonesia. The reason for the change in attitude is that Malaysia feels that she already done her task to scandalise Indonesia in the U.N.O. Besides that, U.S. pressure is also responsible for it. On the other hand, President Soekarno has also expressed his willingness to negotiate with Malaysia, but with some face saving device. However, the minimum condition under which Malaysia's Prime Minister would agree to negotiations would be that Indonesia must first stop intruding into Malaysian territory and that a complete cease-fire must be introduced. It appears certain that although Malaysia would prefer U.N. intervention, yet she would not object to an Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission's good offices.

It may be recalled that Summit Conference on Malaysia was held on June 20, 1964 at Tokyo with an attempt to resolve the cause of conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia. Although the Conference failed to reduce the tensions, yet it agreed to the proposal to hold a Foreign Minister's Conference at a later date to discuss Philippines' proposal of a 4-National Afro-Asian Conciliation Commission. It is quite heartening to find that Philippines' good offices have been offered for reconciliation between Indonesia and Malaysia, although in the earlier stages even she was one of the contestants. Besides, the Government of Thailand has undertaken the responsibility of verification of the withdrawal of Indonesian guerillas from Malaysia and North Borneo, since this has been one of the complicating issues for sometime whether four or five check points should be set up to monitor Indonesian Troops' withdrawals from the areas of Sabah-Sarawak. Malaysia contends that instead of facing each other across the border, the check-points should be strung along the border in a single line.

Indonesia's Attack on Malaysia

Indonesia has let loose her force of guerillas along the Malacca Coast, about 90 miles South of the Malaysian Capital Kuala Lumpur. Britain and Australia have expressed a concern over these incursions, and their Air and Naval Defence Forces stationed in Malaysia have been put into action to withstand the attack. President Macapagal of the Philippines has also condemned these incursions, as they will hinder the mediation efforts already being made through the good offices of Philippines. According to the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunku Abdul Rehman, this is the third landing of Indonesians, since July 1964, on the Malaysian mainland. Malaysia, on the other hand, has launched a campaign of publicity against Indonesian excesses. Leaflets were flooded by Malaysia on November 2, urging the Indonesian soldiers to defy Indonesian Government's orders to 'crush Malaysia'. Malaysia has tried to appeal to the sentiments of the people of Indonesia by explaining to them that Malaysia is not controlled by Britain and that there is no need to liberate it, as the Government of Indonesia puts it.

Rebel Malayan Government in Sumatra—Indonesia's Counter-Blast

It is reported that Indonesia is now out to play the underhand means and to set up a Rebel Malayan Government to counteract Malaysia. A Rebel Malayan Government and Army have been formed in Sumatra. It is reported, that Haji Harun-Bin-Haji Puteh is the President of the so-called Malayan Republic, while Major Gen. Shamsuddin Noor is the Commander-in-Chief. It maintains the 'Malayan National Army', with its own uniform and its own flag—Red and white flag with three stars. This signifies Indonesia's hand behind the scene, because Indonesian flag is also red and white, and it also reveals the closeness of the so-called Malayan Republic with Indonesia. It is claimed that the stars on the flag symbolise God, humanity and social justice.

This indicates the height of tensions between Malaysia and Indonesia, who has already made an open declaration that she would go to the extent of crushing Malaysia altogether. Indonesia's confrontation on the Malaysian borders has already assumed serious proportions and it is likely to break out into a serious conflict which may entail grave consequences. The issue has grown highly complicated in view of the fact that Malaysia is being supported by the Western Powers, whereas Indonesia on the other hand has got encouragements from the Communist Group—Russia and China both, although not both of them at the same time. In fact, China has openly supported Indonesia; and Russia is likely to go to Indonesia's rescue, the moment China adopts a little indifferent attitude. But in any case, one thing is certain that Indonesia can count upon the help of the Communist Bloc.

Ever since the formation of Malaysia, there have been tensions between Indonesia and Malaysia, because Indonesia had opposed the formation of Malaysia on the grounds that the referendum in North Borneo (which has been included in the Federation of Malaysia after its liberation from the British colonial rule) should be held before the formation of Malaysia. Malaysia was, however, formed, although Tunku Abdul Rehman agreed in principle to allow referendum in North Borneo. The referendum has since been held and the verdict of the people has gone in favour of Malaysia, but Indonesia objects to it on the grounds that the formation of Malaysia, including North Borneo in the Federation, could not be justified till such time as the people's opinion was not ascertained constitutionally.

Now the matter has assumed a serious turn, because Indonesia has gone to the extent of giving an open threat to withdraw from the U.N.O., if Malaysia is given a seat in the Security Council. It may be recalled that Malaysia has become one of the four new members of the Security Council from the mid-night of 30th Decem-

ber, 1964, and Malaysia will hold the seat for the second year of the two-year term of the Council as a special arrangement made with Czechoslovakia which has already completed the first year of the two-year term. This step was taken by the U.N.O. only to avoid the clash on the voting strength between Russia and U.S.A. over the issue of Malaysia, when there was particularly a great danger in view of the fact that Russia and others were faced with the threat of deprivation of the voting rights as a result of the non-payments of arrears in connection with the expenditure incurred by the U.N.O. on the Congo Operations. (However, it is reported that U.S.S.R. has by now agreed in principle to clear the arrears). Nevertheless, the position has become serious and U.N. Secretary-General has made a special request to Indonesia to reconsider her stand. It will be an unprecedented thing in the history of the U.N.O. which has at present the total strength of 115 nations. This doubly important view of the fact that it does not simply reveal the serious stage of Malaysian crisis, but it also points to the conclusion that Indonesia is toeing the Peking line. It is certain that Indonesia must be working under the counsel of Communist China ; and she feels that perhaps the U.N.O., who has not been able to condemn the isolated China, would be helpless to deal with Indonesia as well. It may also be recalled that in the Fourth Asian Games held at Djakarta in 1962, Indonesia worked positively under the advice of Communist China and, thus assumed international importance. because before long Indonesia is likely to develope into another China whom the member-nations of U.N.O. will have to face.

British Aid to Malaysia Against Indonesia

The Government of U.K. is preparing itself to meet the crisis over Malaysia. She is building up her sea and land forces to help Malaysia whole-heartedly in resisting the likely invasion from Indonesia. It is reported that U.K. has detailed 80 warships, including aircraft carriers on the Malacca Straits and round North Borneo. It is interesting to note that U.K. has commissioned 50,000 tonned 'Eagle' which is Britain's most powerful naval vessel. Besides this, air-force, and land reinforcements have already been kept in readiness, because the British Government is determined to give 'an appropriate' answer to further aggressions of Indonesia on Malaysia.

British Government has taken these steps in reaction to Indonesian military build-up in Borneo and in Sumatra across the Straits of Malacca. It is apprehended by the Western Powers that Indonesian guerilla activities may give place to frontal assaults. The Government of Britain understands that Indonesian Armed Forces have been adequately equipped by Russia and, as such, they are likely to prove to be a formidable foe.

The Government of Malaysia is taking immediate emergency measures after Indonesia has decided to withdraw from the United

Nations. It may be recalled that Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rehman has made a request to the United Nations for the grant of U.N. military aid in the event of Indonesia attacks. Although the Government of Malaysia thinks the withdrawal of Indonesia as a 'good riddance', yet the British Government considers the situation as something very grave. Of course, Japan is endeavouring to persuade Indonesia to reconsider this issue, but it appears that Indonesia is determined to break off from the United Nations.

It may be remembered that Indonesia has given a threat to break off from the United Nations in protest to Malaysia's membership of the Security Council as a result of the special arrangements made by the Western Powers for the grant of temporary seat to Malaysia for the second year of the two-year term, in the Security Council by prevailing upon Czechoslovakia to make room for Malaysia. Obviously, it will set a very bad example and the British Government also realises that it will have an unwholesome affect on the emergent nations who are U.N. members. President Soekarno has thanked various countries for their advice and appeals to Indonesia to remain in the World body, but he has regretted that his decision was unaltered.

Emergency in Malaysia

The Government of Malaysia proclaimed on February 13, 1965, a 'state of danger' in six regions bordering Kuala Lumpur (Capital). The action was taken consequent in violent anti-Government demonstrations in the Capital. This was caused by the arrest of four Left-Wing Socialist Leaders on charges of inflaming anti-Malaysian feeling in the Federation and of subverting the Government. The Socialist Front in Malaysia is a combination of the Labour Party of Malaya and the Malaysian People's Party. Both have all along been accused of disloyalty towards the Government. It is alleged that the Socialist Front receives funds from Indonesian agents for subversive activities in Malaysia. The Government of Malaysia has openly accused the Government of Indonesia, as it has categorically stated that the Malayan Communist were behind the demonstrations which were so timed as to synchronise with the landing attempts of Indonesia on the mainland and of Malaysia.

The clash between Indonesia and Malaysia has reached such an ebb, that Indonesia has gone to the extent of withdrawing from the membership of U.N.O. in protest to the appointment of Malaysia as the temporary member of the Security Council in the second year of the two-year term after the completion of the first-year term by Czechoslovakia.

India's Mediation in Malaysian Tussle

A turning point has been witnessed in the Malaysia dispute between Malaysia and Indonesia, as Malaysia seems to be quite will-

ing to accept mediation by any friendly country, and particularly India. Earlier it was reported that President Ayub Khan of Pakistan had also offered his good offices to effect mediation between the two warring countries. It may be recalled that at the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference at Algiers in June 1965, there will be one major problem arising out of inclusion of Malaysia in the Conference. There are already sharp differences, because Indonesia is adopting a die-hard attitude and would not tolerate Malaysia inclusion in the Conference.

Ever since the formation of the Federation of Malaysia on 16th September, 1963, tensions of war exist between Indonesia and Malaysia. It may be remembered that the Federation of Malaysia has been formed by inclusion of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo. Indonesia had demanded that a referendum may be held in the territory of North Borneo (then being liberated from the British rule) before the Federation came into being. But Malaysia, on the other hand, insisted on the immediate formation of the Federation, though it conceded to the fact in principle that referendum may be held thereafter. Although the referendum held, later on, in the territory of North Borneo, endorsed the view of the people in support of Federation of Malaysia, yet Indonesia objects to it on the grounds that it is unfair, as such it has openly challenged to crush the Federation. The issue has become all the more complicated in view of the fact that the Western Powers and, particularly, Britain has offered military assistance to Malaysia against military intrusions by Indonesia. On the other hand, Indonesia is being backed by China and Communist Russia. It has, therefore, assumed a very serious colouring. Recently, Indonesia has offered to withdraw from the U.N. membership as a protest against the appointment of Malaysia as a temporary member of the Security Council in the second year of the two-year term of the Council. Obviously, it is likely to create indeed serious violent outbursts. However, if some neutral nation, and particularly India, intervenes in time, perhaps, major catastrophe which is likely to bring about global destruction can be avoided.

MALAYSIA-SINGAPORE RIFT

As a result of the provocative statement of the International Socialist Conference made by the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, that Malayans are not the natives of Singapore and that they had come to this place almost at the same time as the Indians or the Chinese, has caused a strong reaction of the Malayan and the Malaysian Government against the Singapore Prime Minister. Accordingly the United Malaya National Organisation has sought the arrest of Singapore Prime Minister for having caused racial disturbances within the Federation of Malaysia. The anti-Singapore feelings are mounted in Kuala Lumpur inspite of the efforts made by the Prime Minister to tone down the political feud.

It may be recalled that the Federation of Malaysia was formed on 16th September, 1963 by including therein the countries—Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak.

Malaya's main interest in the formulation of the Federation was to check the growth of communism in Singapore by neutralising the communist influence in Singapore through Muslim majority in Malaysia. Moreover, of all the countries in the Federation, Singapore is economically the most well-placed. The economy of Singapore is, thus, likely to produce a toning up effect on the general economy of the Federation. Of course, Singapore has not shown any obstruction in the formation of the Federation due to British influence after its Freedom from the British colonial rule when it became a Dominion within the British Empire.

However, ever since its formation, Malaysia has been a subject of controversy, since Indonesia objected to the inclusion of North Borneo in the Federation on the grounds that referendum must be held in that territory, which was then being liberated from the British colonial rule. Although Malaysia conceded to the Indonesian request to hold referendum, yet Tunku Abdul Rehman in his over-enthusiasm of introducing the Federation went ahead with his programme and allowed the referendum to be held in North Borneo after the Federation was formed. No doubt the referendum endorsed the will of the people to join the Federation, but Indonesia has strongly objected to it and seems to have taken a pledge to cause the

break-down of the Federation. It may also be remembered that when Malaysia was taken in as one of the temporary members of the Security Council, for the second term in the two-year term (after the withdrawal of Czechoslovakia), Indonesia threatened to withdraw from the U.N.O. in case a seat is given to Malaysia. She has further gone to the extent of resisting the grant of seat to Malaysia at the Algiers meeting to be held in September.

Disturbances in Singapore

It may be recalled that when Singapore broke off recently, its Governor-General expressed a great pain at its departure from Malaysia. The main reason responsible for the cession of Singapore was the subversive activities of the Government of Indonesia. To understand it properly, we must go deep into the Circumstances which made Indonesia fundamentally averse to the formation of Malaysia. Singnpose has been, and is even at present, essentially a communist State with 70% people as Communists. This promoted Tunku Abdul Rehman of Malaya to set up a Federation to contract the spread of Singapore by grouping together Malaya, North Borneo, and Sarawak. Accordingly, he got the blessings of the British Government who also wished to check the growth of Communism in Singapore.

The sound economy of Singapore was another temptation. But the political significance was more important for the merger than the economic reasons. It is quite plain that after Singapore has broken off, even the fury of Dr. Soekarno who talked in terms of smashing and crushing Malaysia has also been cooled down to a reasonable degree. When his wish has also been partly met, he seems to be now reconciled to any mediatory talks. It may be clearly understood that the Federation has virtually defeated the very purpose of the creation of the Federation. The antagonism between Malaysia and Indonesia has already reached the point of declared war, since the concentration of troops on borders had already taken place. U.N.O. has already condemned the aggressive designs of Indonesia, and U.A.R. has been enraged with India as the later gave an unqualified support to Malaysia. Indonesia has gone to the extent of breaking off from the United Nations and to set up, in collaboration with China, an International body rival to the United Nations. There are as many as one million communists in Indonesia, and it is an open secret that Indonesia's policies are directly under the influence of Communist China.

Singapore, which broke off from the Federation of Malaysia as a result of internal disturbances, has witnessed another drama of internal disunity enacted within the State. The plot was organised by the revolutionaries who overthrew the present Government of Singapore to establish the Communist State within the Island with the positive support of Indonesian Armed Forces.

Indonesia has expressed a great satisfaction at the breaking away of Singapore, and President Soekarno has clearly stated that this signifies a failure of the British colonial policy. He seems to have been somewhat softened to remark that Indonesia had no tensions or prejudices towards Singapore and even Malaysia and that he was prepared for any mediatory talks through the good offices of the Afro-Asian nations. He has explained that he has not been so much opposed to the Malaysians or the Singaporians, but he has always tried to unmask the wickedness of the British colonialists.

CRISIS IN INDONESIA

Indonesia has passed through serious deadlock which has shaken the solid position of the life of President Dr. Soekarno, the protagonist of so-called 'guided democracy'—democracy guided by wisdom and experience, as the dictator in miniature (Soekarno) has put it. The Communist supported military coup under Col. Un Tung made a violent assault on the military generals resulting in the murder of six generals with the narrow escape of the Defence Minister, General Nasution. For some days, there was the mysterious disappearance of the President and the Defence Minister. But at last the armed forces, loyal to the President, gave good reverses to the rebels. It is revealed that a number of Nationalist Party members, who were enlisted in Col. Un Tung's Council, have stated that their names were included without consultation and that the Nationalist Party founded by Dr. Soekarno, stood in open support for Dr. Seokarno.

Although Dr. Soekarno has saved his life, yet one thing is quite evident : He no longer enjoys the absolute powers which he had been enjoying from the time of Freedom of his country. Much against Dr. Soekarno's wish (who, it is an open secret, is a tool in the hands of Communists), the army has declared on October 18, 1965, a ban on Communists who, it is alleged, were behind the rebels who planned the military coup.

Background

If we recall to our mind the old hostility between President Soekarno and General Nasution, we shall understand the very basis of the present rebellion. General Nasution, being very powerful, had been a source of terror to President Soekarno, the self-advised autocrat. However, Soekarno had realised the bitter reality that the only way possible for him to keep to his power was by winning over General Nasution. Accordingly, he gave a bait to the armed forces by allowing 25% representation of the armed forces on the functional group (Advisory Council) to the Government. This is how he moulded his democracy into 'guided democracy', in which he reconciled with the allied forces and thus, experimented upon a unique experiment of allowing representation to the military on the Advisory Council to the Government. He, therefore, played a puppet in the hands of the military. It will be curious to note that Dr. Soekarno thought it to be a virtue of necessity to win over General Nasution, since he feared growth of the power of the

Communists in his country. It should not sound surprising that there are more than one million Communists actively operating in Indonesia. In his own modest way, poor Soekarno had, thus, though of giving resistance to the Communists with the active support of the allied force.

But the fate turned the scale in the different direction. With the march of time, Dr. Soekarno began to realise that General Nasution was expending his personality and thus, he thought it expedient to win the Chinese and with their support (through the Communists in his country) he ought to reduce the influence and interference of the armed forces in the internal and external policies of Indonesia. Accordingly, he entered into a secret plan with the Communists and sought an indirect support of the Communists and their fatherland China, to remove the Indonesian military general from the scene, so as to subdue the orphaned armed forces with removal from the helm of affairs of the six top-ranking generals and General Nasution, the powerful Defence Minister. Unfortunately, the plan was miscarried, since the strongest man (Gen Nasution) escaped unhurt. With the survival of Gen. Nasution, the armed forces revived their power and Dr. Soekarno's malicious p'an stood miscarried. It was just a fabulous story publicised by armed forces in China that the Chinese physician who was a Personal Physician to Dr. Soekarno had prepared a plan, by holding trucks with China, to cause the military coup as the President would breath his last.

Now the ban on the Communist Party is the most reluctant act of the Government. Readers should note that it is not the Head of the State, but the all powerful army in Indonesia which has issued the proclamation for the ban on the Communists.

RHODESIAN DEADLOCK

There has been, for a long time, feverish activity on the freedom of Southern Rhodesia; and the situation has almost reached the point of crisis. The British Government has been subjected to much criticism, and there has been a strong agitation against the British Government for its delaying tactics on the question of freedom of Southern Rhodesia. However, the Prime Minister of Britain has now prevailed upon the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, not to press for unilateral Independence of Southern Rhodesia. As a result of it, Britain will be saved of scathing criticism which is expected in the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference.

The new British proposals are to increase African representation in Parliament to one-third and to encourage intensification of the educational and other measures, to increase the number of Africans qualified to vote in the 'A' Category Roll (now exclusively confined to the White settlers). On the other hand, the proposals are of some advantage to the present Government of Southern Rhodesia as well, since it will enable the White settlers to dominate and rule Rhodesia without setting a date for the African demand of 'one man, one vote'. But if it is judged from the African point of view, it falls short of the wishes of the Africans.

Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that Mr. Smith enjoys the popular support of the people, so much so that in the recent elections he had obtained 100% success on the issue of immediate Independence. This bitter reality has been realised by the British Government who has now begun to see that it will be impossible for it to adopt any more dilatory tactics. The problem of Southern Rhodesia has been gaining the attention of the U.N.O. had passed its resolution on the question of freedom of Rhodesia. The neutral Nations Conference also strongly condemned the British Government for its delaying the freedom of Southern Rhodesia. Thus it appears that the sentiments are mobilised, and the freedom of Southern Rhodesia cannot be delayed for long.

The declaration by the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Ian Smith, that the State would declare unilateral Independence of Southern Rhodesia whereby the White Rhodesians would deny to the Africans the right of equality under new constitutional changes, has caused a stir in the international scene. The Prime Minister has gone to the extent of challenging that the White Rhodesians "would rather go

down fighting than crawling on our hands and knees", the British Government, on the other hand, whose territory Rhodesia happens to be, has raised a strong objection to it.

The General Assembly passed a resolution to call upon Britain, "to use all possible measures to prevent a unilateral declaration, and in the even that British Government has gone to the extent of giving the threat of the economic and diplomatic sanction against Rhodesia." But it is still to be seen whether the British Government really intends intervening militarily to end the white rebellion in Rhodesia. In this connection, it will be relevant to note the contradiction of policy in the statements of the British Officials spokesmen. The Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, hinted at the intervention which categorically means military intervention, but the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Bottomley, has rejected the possibility of any military intervention. It will be seen how far two statements will be reconciled by the British Government, quite notorious for its diplomacy. Note will deny that Britain is morally bound to discharge its responsibility towards the people of Africa. It is also quite evident that Z.A.P.U. has threatened to establish a parallel Government in Rhodesia, and with the support of Zambia and Tzania, to aid African Nationalists. The situation in Rhodesia is likely to become very explosive.

The British Government should also realize the complications of the issue. It will turn the African world against the Commonwealth, and it will shake the confidence of the African States in the Organisation. It may be mentioned that Kenya has already hinted about walking out of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, ever since the dissolution of the Federation the issue has been hanging on.

The British Government should remember that if they adopt here as well the policies similar to those pursued by her in the Congo with their necessary interest, the people of Rhodesia would not tolerate it. It is quite evident that the British Government has changed itself into a chastened wolf, but it has not yet abandoned the wolfish tendency. It is the British Government who complicated the issue in the Congo and it was the British Government who had a sinister hand in the murder of the U.N. Secretary-General in complicity with Northern Rhodesia. In the field of Nyasaland, now known as Malawi, she used her diplomacy with the result that she had to bear the storm of the African wrath in 1959. Now, let them be prepared for a bigger storm this time which would unmask the colonial greed of Britain who outwardly professes to be given to the principles of right of 'self-determination'.

The Rhodesian Government should also learn from the example of Algeria, where the white minority enjoyed the preferential right of 'one vote of the white equal to nine votes of the coloured'. But ultimately in spite of all the opposition of the whites and the O.A.S. rebellion, referendum was held in Algeria which culminated in the formation of the Sovereign State in Algeria from 3rd July, 1963. Nevertheless, in this case, the role played by General De Gaulle is quite commendable—because he had gone to the extent of meeting the challenge of the O.A.S. rebellion not only in Algeria, but also in the Metropolitan Franche. Let the British Government exhibit its sincerity by a similar action to tell the world that the fault rests with the Smith Government, and not with the Wilson's.

CONGO CRISIS

The Congo has, once again, gone in a grip of tensions, Dr. Paul Carlson, the American Medical Missionary whom Congolese rebels had been threatening to execute as a spy, was killed in a mass shooting, as the rescue forces stormed the rebel strong-hold of Stanleyville. Belgian paratroops, as the rescue force, captured the Stanleyville airport. According to the Congolese Prime Minister, Moise Tshombe, the Congolese Army had entered Stanleyville. He assured that the Belgian paratroops would remain in the city only to get the white hostages away. It is reported that the rebels took a group of hostages, mostly women and children, out of a hotel where they had been locked up, and told them to turn them over to the paratroops. Later, the rebels ordered their prisoners to sit down, and as the paratroops approached the rebels opened fire on the group of hostages.

Ethiopian Government has described the landing of the Belgian paratroops as an unfortunate action, particularly so because it had come at a time when the Organization of the African Unity Ad Hoc Commission on the Congo was scheduled to meet at Nairobi. The re-start of the trouble in the Congo has deeper roots. Tshombe had been a source of trouble, as the rebel leader of Katanga, to the Central Government of the Congo. Now when he has been installed as the Prime Minister, the pro-Lumumba group, who are deadly against him, have become rebels. Since the rebels know that the Belgian and British mercenaries and the Americans are there under the garb of rescue force, to give support to Tshombe, who is their stooge, they pressed for the evacuation of the white hostages. The public opinion in the Congo has turned against Belgians, the British and the Americans, since they are positively helping the notorious Tshombe who is a symbol of disunity in the Congo.

It may be recalled that Tshombe had a wicked hand in the murder of the first Prime Minister of Congo, Patrice Lumumba. He had declared the succession of the Province of Katanga from the Central control of the Congolese Government, and he had gone to the extent of flouting even the authority of the United Nations. The world has a poor memory, but the hard fact cannot be forgotten that it is Tshombe who was responsible for a plot to murder the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold. An evil-deed recoils on the head of an evil doer. Now when Tshombe requests for co-operation, the people are paying him back in his own coin.

Undertaking an open aggression against the Congolese people, the colonialists hoped by one blow to suppress the patriotic forces of the Congo, bolster up Tshombe's tottering puppet regime and strengthen their own imperialist positions here.

But colonialist intervention in the Congo's home affairs is spearheaded not only against the Congolese people. The other motives are to undermine the struggle waged by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, to retain the racist regime in Rhodesia and the racist reserve in South Africa. At the same time the increased colonialist activity in the Congo is part of the efforts of the reactionary forces to secure a foothold in the South and the Centre of Africa and then launch a counter-offensive against the newly independent African States. This is the reasons why the colonialist venture in the Congo is, in effect, a challenge to all Africa and represents a collision between the colonialists and the national liberation forces in that continent.

Coming on the heel of the abortive attempts to suppress the freedom of the Congolese people under the cover of the U.N. flag, the imperialist armed intervention in the Congo created an immediate danger to the sovereignty and independence of that country. Facts go to show that Tshombe, this foreign puppet, challenged Africa by openly starting to hold out the Congo's wealth to foreign colonialists.

Spheres of Influence

Parallel to the armed intervention in the Congo, foreign monopolies hurriedly finalized with representatives of Tshombe's Ministry of Planning, the last details of a predatory plan for dividing the Congo into 'spheres of influence'. Under this plan each of the Western Powers financing Tshombe will be given an area for which it is selecting its own officials and other administrative staff. Thus, the selfish interests of international monopolies were the prime factor behind the new imperialist aggression in the Congo. The fact that this intervention was approved by all N.A.T.O. members is one more bit of evidence showing the aggressive character of this block which is used for suppressing the freedom and independence of the peoples.

As to talk about the 'humanitarian motives' by which the aggressors tried to justify their criminal actions in the Congo, there is nothing new about this hypocritical excuse and it will mislead no one. Noteworthy in this respect is the call issued to their Governments by the American and Belgian Consuls in a radio broadcast in Stanleyville on November 21. They said bluntly that all foreigners staying in the territory controlled by patriots are alive and will be alive if the United States and Belgium immediately cut off military aid to Tshombe.

All reference to the 'legality' of Tshombe regime are nothing but a screen. It is a fact that Tshombe's responsibility for the murder of the Congolese national hero, Patrice Lumumba, and his followers, was officially established in the report of the U.N. Commission for the investigation of the circumstances of their death, which circulated as a document of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

To speak, as the colonialists do about the 'legality' of Tshombe's regime, is to trample underfoot the Security Council's decisions, mock at the heroic struggle of the Congolese people for their freedom and national independence, and challenge African States which are strongly protesting against the intervention of Colonial Powers and their puppets in African affairs.

Real Purpose

Turning to the imperialist powers' attacks on African countries and their attempts to blame them for the events in the Congo, one will note that the purpose behind these provocative charges was to distract public attention from the fact that the intervention in the Congo continues.

But representatives of African countries gave a worthy rebuff to those who, in the second half of the 20th century, are trying to revert to the old colonialist methods, who do not want to reckon with the U.N. Charter on the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and peoples.

The Soviet delegation at the Security Council exposed the real purpose behind the new colonialist venture in the Congo and gave every support to the legitimate demands of African countries. These demands were resolutely backed also by the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The colonial powers were forced to back out in the face of the unity of peace-loving forces in the Security Council and public protests throughout the world. The resolution taken by the Security Council on December 30, 1964, selects to a considerable extent the just demands of African nations, it is the duty of all U.N. member nations to contribute to a speedy and undeviating implementation of this resolution.

ALGERIAN ISSUE

Background

Algeria had been torn by rifts for more than a decade, when the national resurgence movement, under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas, demanded for the people of Algeria. Their right to 'self-determination' — It gained momentum, when Gen. De Gaulle came in power in 1958. He agreed in principle to grant freedom to the people of Algeria. But the situation became complicated all the more, as the European settlers in Algeria began to fear damage to their interest. The white settlers enjoyed a preferential treatment, as one vote of a white settler was equal to nine votes of the natives.

Their cause was supported by the French Army in Algeria, who went to the extent of rising in revolt against the metropolitan France. However, Gen. De Gaulle did not budge from his determination and he made every effort to honour his pledge of grant of 'self determination' to the people of Algeria. A Terrorist Organisation, named O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation) was formed by the whites to terrorise the people of Algeria. But nothing could shake people's determination. At last the French Government agreed to referendum in Algeria, which was held on 1st July, 1962. With a thumping majority, the nationals decided in favour of Sovereign State ; and accordingly on the 3rd July 1962 the independent Algerian Government was formed under the leadership of Yusuf Ben-Kheda as the Prime Minister. However, the Prime Minister could not enlist the support of his powerful Deputy Prime Minister, Ben Bella ; and in a week's time Ben Bella seized power in his hands. He began to consolidate his power, so much so that he styled himself as the President, indentifying with the U.S. President. At last, Ben Bella was ousted by his own trusted lieutenant who had supported him in seizing power. It reveals that for sometime preparation had been going on, because the new Government has not brought any major changes in Ben Bella's Government. It can as well be interpreted to mean that the revolutionaries have already successfully got an entry for their men into the Government ; and at the right moment they struck the nail on its head.

Military Coup in Algeria

A military coup was organised in Algeria on June 19, which resulted in ousting the well-established regime of powerful Algerian President, Ahmad-Ben-Bella. The coup was organised by Col.

Bonmedienne, and Ben Bella's three year old Government was deposed by a Council of Revolution. Ben Bella suffered the fate of all dictators, as he has been accused of misuse of power amounting to committing a crime against the nation.

It is quite insignificant to trace the coincidence between the Afro-Asian Conference which was than likely to be held at Algiers on June 29 and the military coup organised just only a few days before it. The new Government has outlined its foreign policy and declared : "dictated by obejectives conditions which demand a policy of national independence, its outlook is non-alignment and friendship with all countries : it aims to promote sincere and fruitful co-operation with all other powers in the mutual respect of sovereignty".

NATIONAL UPRISING IN PANAMA

The developments in Panama are once again in the focus of attention of the world press. Beginning with November last year, student demonstrations and protest meetings are being held in Panama. The slogan 'Sovereignty or Death' is reverberating Panamanian sky. A direct cause of these disturbances is the deliberate procrastination practised by the United States in the negotiations on the Canal Zone and the equivocal stand taken by the Panamanian oligarchy, which is very much inclined to make concessions to the U.S. Imperialists.

Bloody Events of a Year Ago

Still fresh in one's memory are the bloody events which took place in Panama a year ago, when the patriots rose in defence of the national sovereignty and called for driving out the U.S. military units from Panamanian territory. The U.S. troops shot at the Panamanian demonstrators. The situation worsened so much that Panama had to sever its diplomatic relations with the United States. In relation, Washington imposed a series of 'sanctions' on the Panamanian people, resorting to economic boycott and political blackmail.

In April 1964, under pressure from the United States the Panamanian Government agreed to restore the diplomatic relations, following which negotiations for settling the conflict were started. These negotiations have been going on this very day. Meanwhile, regular Presidential elections were held in Panama, and the newly-elected President, Marco Aurelio Robles has already been appointed. In his first speech, Robles voiced the assurance that his Government would secure from the United States full compliance with Panama's just demands and that "only a new treaty on the Canal could be a genuine response to the Panamanians' demands."

Time to Revise 1903 Treaty

When the backstage manoeuvres of some participants in the Panamanian-U.S. negotiations became known, a wave of demonstrations and protest meetings swept Panama. The following recent statement made by Panamanian students was a stern warning to the American Imperialists and their henchmen: "We shall never be intimidated by reprisals. If we did not get scared of the machine-

guns and tanks of the aggressive Yankee army in January, we shall not be intimidated by the threats of another bloodshed, from whatever quarter it may come."

The 'New York Times' said recently : "History repeats itself." The Panamanian students again turned out into the streets ; waving Panamanian flags, they demanded ; "Yankees, go home". This fresh outbreak of protest must be viewed as a warning, that the negotiations should immediately be brought to conclusion.—It is time to revise the 1903 treaty. It is not only now, that the voice of protests is first raised in Panama. It was heard as early as in 1903, when the United States seized a strip of territory from Panama for building an inter-oceanic canal and imposed a colonialistic treaty on the small and defenceless country. Ever since, the struggle to recover the stolen territory and for dismantling the U.S. Imperialist base in the area of the Panama canal has never ceased.

The developments in Panama are a graphic testimony to the firm determination of the small, but courageous people to secure their national sovereignty and to drive out the United States' troops from its territory. However, the events in Panama are of much more profound significance. The winds of a social revolution, the well-known U.S. Journalist Tad Szulc wrote in panic, are sweeping over Latin-American today. The soil has been well fertilised there and is prepared to receive the seeds of revolution.

DISTURBANCES IN DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Background

It may be recalled that earlier the Junta and the constitutional rebels had agreed on one point that they had made an appeal to the U.N. Security Council in July last for the withdrawal of O.A.S. Peace-keeping Force. Some of the Latin-American States have also opposed the deployment of the U.S. forces and the idea of O.A.S. mediation. The situation had grown so serious that the O.A.S. Foreign Ministers meeting had to be called on twice. The O.A.S. demanded general elections within nine months.

The proposed settlement would constitute only half a success, because Col. Collamano had made clear the need for initiating the reforms. President Garcia Godov, in his inaugural address, has assured to make a start of land reforms. So the conditions of peace will be judged clearly in the light of the actual working of the whole arrangement, because the Republic has virtually degenerated into an Anarchy and the Government's reaction had been constantly opposed to social reforms. It may be remembered that the present crisis had started when the rebels tried to reinstate Mr. Joan Bosch who was demarcitally elected President in 1963, but had been overthrown by the armed forces soon after, on account of his reformist programme. The issue stood all the more complicated, because in all the Latin-American States there is a good deal of confusion at the level of the Government and among the people between social reforms and communism. When the Government of U.S.A. imposed Gen. Imbart Berraras military Junta, it was disapproved by many member countries of the O.A.S., because of his past record as an associate of dictator Trujillo. It is also alleged that Gen. Imbart was an accomplice in the crime of assassination of Trujillo.

Of course, the U.S. intervention in the matter has gone long way in checking the growth of dictatorship, yet the O.A.S. is still left with the task of convincing its members with the approach, since the Latin-American problems are not to be determined by the people or the Government of U.S.A. Nevertheless, O.S.A. settlement does not approve of President Garcia Godov who had been quite acceptable to the right and left-wing factions.

Deadlock

The Security Council passed on May 23. a Resolution for a permanent cease-fire in the Dominican Republic. The decision was

taken on the French Resolution for a cease-fire which as the French Delegate put, it, will be "The least that can be done to maintain the honour of the U.N. and the Security Council." It may be recalled that earlier Britain had introduced a Resolution calling for the extension of the cease-fire, but in effect it implied the role of the O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation of the Pan-American States). U.S.A. has all along been making efforts to subordinate the U.N. role to the O.A.S. to interfere in the Dominican Republic, on the grounds that it would amount to duplication of the role of the O.A.S. in case U.N.O. undertake this work.

Brig. General Antonio Imbart, the Reconstruction leader, had refused to accept formal extension of the 24-hour humanitarian cease-fire which had expired at noon on May 23, although he had given an assurance that fire would not be assumed unless otherwise provoked. On the other hand, the real regime under Col. Francis Collamano had announced its willingness to prolong the cease-fire. Although intermediaries are making a good progress to explore the chances of a Coalition Government in Santo Domingo, yet the conditions of civil war continue to exist.

U.S.A. is reported to be sounding Latin-American diplomats on the possibility of the trusteeship for the Dominican Republic under the O.A.S. It may be recalled that the O.A.S. is already exercising such types of controls on the Republic, as may be normally exercised by the Government of a country. Arrangements are being made to hand over the control of the Dominican Radio Stations in Junta-held territory to the O.A.S. Government of U.S.A. insists that all powers to dispense the salaries of civil servants may be transferred from the control of Junta into the hands of the O.A.S.

The proposed trusteeship would involve a flagrant violation of the U.N. Charter, insofar as the Charter conceives of trusteeship of colonial territories only as a step towards Independence. The Charter does not appreciate rather enunciate, the idea of trusteeship for any Independent country, like the Dominican Republic. Such an act would be against the sovereignty of a republic. However, it can be easily predicted that U.S.A. will not succeed in getting its proposal of trusteeship approved. Otherwise, it will become a bad example and would, thus, pose a danger not only to the world, but to the United Nations as well. It would virtually mean making O.A.S. as a rival body to the U.N.O. which will transgress the rights and privileges of the world body. In practice, it may so happen that U.S. Marines may take over in any other country in a fit of emotions or by display of might, and, thereafter, may offer the trusteeship of the country to O.A.S. It may be remembered that there are 20,000 U.S. troops in the Santo Domingo-area under explicit orders to keep the rival forces apart. However, the Imbart and the Collamano regimes are being pressed by the international mediators of the U.N.O. and O.A.S. for the Coalition Government.

At last, through U.S. good offices, peace has been restored in the Dominican Republic (one of the Southern States of the American Continent). The civil war-torn Dominican Republic has been passing through a dramatic scene of internal disturbances. Now when U.S.A. has exerted pressure by withdrawing pay roll funds for the Dominican Administration, General Imbart Barrars and his military Junta have been compelled to agree to a new provisional Government under the leadership of Mr. Garcia Godov, Col. Collamano who had also been assuming himself to be a constitutional President with the support of the Dominican Republic Congress, has accepted the O.A.S. sponsored settlement.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S OBSTRUCTIONS IN BRITISH GUIANA'S INDEPENDENCE

The British Prime Minister has made a categorical statement that Britain would hinder the grant of Independence to British Guiana till stable conditions exist there. "Give the dog a bad name, and hang him." This tact is being adopted by Britain who is being encouraged by U.S.A. in this dirty politics. It is the irony of fate that now the British Government desires that British Guiana should be not only a stooge of Britain, but it should also appease U.S.A., as U.S.A. seems to have expressed the false fears that British Guiana after the attainment of her Independence is likely to develop into another Cuba. The American fears have arisen from the fact that Dr. Cheddi Jagan is a Marxist and pro-Castro. The U.S.A. believes that Dr. Jagan's Ruling Party does not command majority as a result of the elections, and thus, perhaps before long a coalition Government may be set up under the Western influence. Dr. Jagan's Ruling Party (People's Progressive Party) gained 24 seats, while 22 seats were captured by People's National Congress headed by James Burnham. Besides these two parties there are 4 minor parties among which United Force is significant. It is the group of Europeans and mixed races who had secured 7 seats. U.S.A. is making an attempt to gain for the People's National Congress the support of the United Force and, thus, aims at defeating the marginal majority of Dr. Jagan. It may be recalled that the system of proportional representation, which inherently leads to unhappy Coalitions and unstable Governments, was deliberately contrived by the British Government in a desparate bid to defeat Dr. Jagan. U.S.A. has raised her stooge Burnham and lives in the hope of raising him to power. Dr. Jagan whose family lineage can be traced from India (Bihar), draws strength mainly from the people of Indian origin who constitute majority of the population in the British Guiana. Thus, it has become a racial issue, because Burnham on the other hand is a Negro who is supported by the Negroes of British Guiana. Obviously, there is every possibility of racial violence to burst out and the chances will increase in the even of a Coalition Government because Burnham will enjoy the support of white industrialists and planters, which the people of Indian origin would not tolerate.

Time should be an eye-opener to the Western Powers that the East is pre-dominantly socialist, and that any effort of the West to suppress socialism in Asia and Africa would bear no fruit. Socialism has reached the American Continent too, as is seen in Cuba and wherever poverty prevails, communism and socialism must breed. The 'divide and rule' policy of the notorious British diplomats has been responsible for spreading racial and communal tensions in Asia and Africa ; and thus three-fourths population of the world living in Asia and Africa, have been all along ruled, or at least dominated, by the Westerners.

JAPAN'S TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS ON CHINA (CHRONICLE OF CHINA UNDER JAPAN'S THREAT)

As Britain dominated the European continent, Japan in the Far-East asserted her supremacy and strength as early as in 1870. Though the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 had settled some Far-Eastern problems, yet it had created new problems of its own. The vexing problem was the Sino-Japanese interests in South Manchuria, the sphere of influence which Japan had taken over from Russia in 1905. With the annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese Government and the public became more interested in Manchuria. As early as in January 1913, Taka-akira Kato before leaving London to become Foreign Minister in the Okuma Cabinet, informed Grey that "Japan entertained vital political and psychological concern in the Kwangtung Peninsula and South Manchuria", that Japan was determined to maintain a permanent occupation of the Kwangtung Province; and that in a psychological moment arrived, Japan would seek to extend her leasehold and concessions there. Another reason for Japan's main interest in China was for railway and mining concessions.

When the European Powers were engaged in War, Japan wanted to utilise the opportunity. Japan's military action in Shantung placed a further strain on diplomatic relations between Peking and Tokyo. Early in 1915, she made a desparate attempt to cover China into a Japanese Protectorate by forcing her 'Twenty-one Demands' on China. China sought to protect herself through American intervention. Accordingly, the Chinese Government strongly protested that the Root-Takahira Notes of 1908 established in favour of the United States a right to be consulted by Japan before the latter embarked on any military action affecting Chinese territory.

Japan tried to close China to Europe in order to keep Asia far the Asiatics, practically more or less on the lines of Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. Of course, China did not yield to the demands, but she had to sign a number of Treaties, notes, embodying several objectives of the popular demands.

In January 18, 1915, Japanese Minister Hioki, presented to President Yuan Shih-K'ai a group of twenty-one demands designed to ensure Japan's position in China at the time when the Western Powers were in the grip of titanic struggle, Japan gave forty-eight hours ultimatum to China to accept the demands.

The demands were in five groups :—

The First Group

China was required to assent to any subsequent German-Japanese agreement disposing of German rights in Shantung, to agree not to cede or lease any part of Shantung to any others power, to agree to Japanese construction of rail road connecting Chefoo with the Tsingtao Tsinin line, and finally to the opening of certain cities to the residence and commerce of foreigners. As it appears, however, this demand of the Japanese was both illogical and deceptive. The demands were made on neutral China, and not on enemy Germany.

The Second Group

Related to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. It provided :—

- (a) That the lease of Port Arthur Dalhy, and of the terms of the South Manchurian and the Antung-Mukden Railway agreements be extended to 99 years ;
- (b) that the Japanese subjects might reside and travel in South Manchuria, engage in business and manufacturing and lease land outside of the Treaty ports for trade or agricultural purposes ;
- (c) that the Chinese Government would give its permission to any joint Chinese-Japanese enterprises ;
- (d) that Japanese subjects should be amenable to Chinese local law, but the extra-territorial system so far as the trial of offenders was concerned, should obtain ;
- (e) that China should open to foreign trade and residence, all suitable places in Eastern Inner Mongolia ;
- (f) that the Kirin-Changchun Railway be revised in favour of Japan. Apart from this Japanese subjects be allowed the right to open mines.

The Third Group

Related to the Han-Yeh-Ping Company to make it a Japanese concern by giving the Company mining monopoly in certain regions of the Yangtze Valley. In 1903, Japanese interests extended to the Company a loan of 15 million yens to be repaid over a period of 40 years in iron and crude iron.

The Fourth Group

Related to non-alienation of territory that China was to engage, not to cede or lease to any other Power, any harbour or bay or any island along the Coast of China.

The Fifth Group

Consisting of six Articles, demanded the appointment of Japanese advisers, the purchase of Japanese munitions, the privilege of religious propaganda, police control and economic preference amounting in Fukien, to practical dominance.

These demands caused a violent reaction in China and gave birth to the rise of Chinese nationalism. Japan's methods of conducting the negotiations was also not welcomed by the European Powers. The Western Powers were ultimately compelled to toe Japan's wishes. In 1917, when the Allies in desparate state to protect their merchant shipping from German sub-marine's attacks approach Japan for reinforcements. Japan took full advantage of the situation and made secret Treaties with England, France and Italy. Japan was confident of geting the fruits in Peace Conference.

Japan's diplomatic relations with the United States were cordial, as long as Japan followed the 'open door' policy. But she changed her policy from 'open door' to a policy of special interest. It aroused American opposition. The 21 demands precipitated Secretary Bryan's warning that "the Government of the United States cannot recognise any agreement or undertaking impairing the Treaty rights of the United States, the political or territorial integrity of China or the open door. Viscount Ishil came to the United States immediately after the later formally became a co-belligerant against Germany and signed with Secretary Lansing an agreement on November 2, 1917 by which "the Governments of the United States and Japan recognise that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and consequently, the Government of the United States recognises that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." In other words, the United States was committed to the Japanese claim upon Shantung.

Since the Allies wanted Japan's co-operation in their struggle or at least her neutrality, they agreed to support these claims at the Peace Conference. The war, which to Germany meant complete annihilation and bankruptcy which to three great and historic Empires, the Austro-Hungarian, the Russian and the Ottomaman meant dismemberment, which to Great Britain means complete financial breakdown, which to France meant the recovery of the lost grounds as will as the prestige, which to U.S.A. and Japan meant unusual prosperity and strength, which to Italy mean: the loss of peace and finance, and which to all mankind meant frustration, starvation, hunger, homelessness, blood-shed and terror, came to an unexpected end on November 11, 1918. The victors were happy over the victory, which, they had scarcely hoped, would come. They began to try for peace, and Japan, in turn tried again to get more and more from China while gratifying her desire of imperialism.

Thus Japan's quest for expansionism and imperialism was fully evidenced from the 21 Demand and her occupation of Manchuria in 1931. New China has sufficiently consolidated her position to press her demands on the other Asian countries, since the pendulum has swung in her favour.

STUDENT RIOTS IN JAPAN

The trouble arose in May last, when President Estenssoro fostered a constitutional amendment permitting him to be elected President for the third consecutive term.

Japan was seized by a strong clash of student demonstrators with the authorities who had moved in protest against retain power for a short period and has assured the nation to conduct new elections very shortly. President Estenssoro did not resist the military coup and resigned to avoid bloodshed. It is arrival of the first U.S. nuclear-powered submarines to visit Japan. Besides, student riots organized by about 12,000 strong students, about 1300 Socialists and Trade Unions also staged orderly demonstrations in the port. It is claimed that the main purpose of the sub-marine's visit to Japan was to establish U.S. right to send nuclear-powered sub-marines under the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty. Under this Treaty, a nuclear submarine could not be discriminated against. Japan herself is likely to produce and use her nuclear power very shortly. It may be recalled that the U.S. authorities had taken 22 months to obtain the approval of the Government of Japan for the entry of a nuclear-powered sub-marine into the Japanese port.

U.S.-JAPAN JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Consequent on two days talk between President Johnson and Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato of Japan on January 12 and 13, a joint communique was issued which cemented the relations between the two countries and expressed the readiness of both the countries to maintain closest contacts and consultation not only on problems lying between them but also on those affecting Asia and the world in general. The important feature of the talks between the two countries is that U.S.A. has agreed in principle to restore the administrative control of Ryukus and Bonin Islands to Japan. They have agreed in principle to broaden the functions of the existing U.S. determination to abide by her commitments under the Treaty to "defend Japan against any armed aggression."

TUSSLE OVER COPPER MINES IN ZAMBIA

Zambia (formerly known as Northern Rhodesia) has attained Freedom on October 28, 1964. But financial dispute exists over Northern Rhodesia's claim on the proprietorship of the country's copper mines. About 75 years ago, the British South African Company had obtained the proprietorship of Northern Rhodesia's copper mines as a result of the Royal Charter then signed for the purpose. The British South African Company had, thereafter, handed over the mining operations to other foreign concerns and continued to enjoy royalties. The independence of Zambia has now put forth a very queer question of financial compensation to the British South African Company. Obviously, Zambia who possesses 14% of the world's known resources of copper would not like to forgo her copper mines under any circumstances. On the other hand, the Company is also justified to ask for compensation. It has gone to the extent of giving threat of a legal suit against the British Government. Earlier, the Company had staked the claim of 180 million pounds as compensation, but the amount was later on reduced. The Company argues that the dispute is between the British Government and the Company and, as such, they will be compelled to seek legal redress.

The story does not end here. In case the company files a suit against the British Government, it is likely to affect the relations between Zambia (the 20th Member of the Commonwealth) and the British Government. The British Government may, then, be left with no choice except to seek nationalisation by proxy. Obviously, it will put the British Government in a state of embarrassment, as it would not desire to spoil relations with its previous colony which has been liberated now as a gesture of Britain's well-pronounced spirit of generosity. It may be recalled that the Macmillan Government had openly helped the company by supporting Company's additional claim of 12 million pounds of compensation and had, thus, ruptured relations with Zambia (Northern Rhodesia). However, the popular opinion of the business community in Britain is positively in favour of Zambia, because the middle man's royalty has little justification.

CHANGES IN SAUDI ARABIA

The aged King Saud of Saudi Arabia has been deposed by his brother, Prince Feisal. The new King is more radical in his approach than the conservative deposed monarch. Prince Feisal is not new to the affairs of Saudi Arabia, since for some years he had conducted the administration of his country and had assumed the title of Viceroy in last March. It may be recalled that the U.N. Secretary-General had called for a meeting between President Nassar and Prince Regent to expedite implementation of the Yemen disengagement agreement which proposed the withdrawal of the U.A.R. troops. But since U.A.R. has deeply established herself in Saudi Arabia, she seems to be quite unwilling to do so, until she makes the Government of Saudi Arabia recognise the rebel Republican regime of Yemen. It appears that King Feisal may agree to it, but it will produce grave consequences. In Saudi Arabia, it may lead to conflicts that the King may have to face with some of the Sheikhs who are strongly pro-royalist. In any case, King Feisal is a sophisticated individual, with progressive views. He has planned to utilise the oil money in useful and constructive projects. The deposed King was essentially religious who leaned on the support of the religious leaders. The new King enjoys the support of the more enlightened Arabs, particularly the developing middle class.

COUP IN BOLIVIA

A military coup was organised in Bolivia on November 4, which caused the exit of President, Victor Pag Esstensoro. The Military Junta has formed the Government under the command of General Alfredo Obando Candia. The Commander has, however, pledged to retain power for a short period and has assured the nation to conduct new elections very shortly. President Estenssoro did not resist the military coup and resigned to avoid blood-shed. It is reported that he has left the country and has gone to Africa, perhaps to Chile or Peru.

DEMOCRATIC SET-UP IN SUDAN

A 14-Member Care-taker Government was formed on October 30, 1964 in Sudan, with a provision of parliamentary elections within five months. As a result of the new constitutional changes, the Martial Law imposed in 1958 bloodless coup under General Abdoud stands hereby completely withdrawn. Although General Abdoud continues to be the President, yet his absolute powers have been snatched, because the new Government excludes General Abdoud's Military Junta. The new Government is headed by the Prime Minister Seir-El-Khatim Khalifa. The Care-taker Government will rule in accordance with the 1950 Constitution which was, itself, provisional awaiting fresh elections.

The formation of Democratic Government in Sudan is a point of conciliation between the Military Junta and the Democrats. It is evident that the Democrats had given an open challenge to the Military Junta. After the military coup of 1958 democracy was suspended, but still the masses were divided and the popular demand for democracy grew so strong that the Military Junta had ultimately to compromise.

Change in Sudan

After the end of Military Rule in Sudan, national solidarity and integration have been promoted in the country under the Civilian rule. The new Civilian Government has called upon Gen. Ibrahim Abdoud to step down from the high office of President for having ordered the arrest of 7 Army Officers without reference to the Prime Minister, who also holds the office of the Defence Minister. It may be recalled that the Army Officers hatching a plot to stage counter-revolution, and their timely arrest has saved the country from the bloodshed. The Army Leaders were out to repudiate Gen. Abdoud's Agreement to hand over power to the National Front of politicians. Now when the Prime Minister Seir-El-Khatim Khalifa has succeeded in controlling the situation, he is convinced of his Government's ability to withstand any challenge that may come from the Army. Gen. Abdoud has openly

confessed the authority of the Civilian Government, and he has gone to the extent of persuading the Army leaders not to live in the dreams of resisting the civilian authority. The Prime Minister has made his position quite secure with the support of the National Front, but he is still faced with the problem how to reconcile the Arab North and the African South. The 6-year old military rule has ended in Sudan, and behind it were the student demonstrators who had staged a protest against President Abdoud's policies in Southern Sudan. Now the Prime Minister is to face music. He is finding himself in a very delicate position as he is confronted with the conflict between the North and the South.

PART II

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

E.C.M. DEADLOCK

The European Common Market is, once again, faced with a crisis. This time on financing a common farm policy. In its meeting held at Brussels (Capital of Belgium), member countries could not come to a unanimous decision on the E.C.M. Commission's proposals by June 30 dead line. The Commission had proposed for a community budget with sources of revenue. In its opinion the E.C.M. Agricultural Fund should be built from direct levies on the agriculture of the member States, and not from their contribution so that the budget should finance the Commission and the common foreign exchange. The main trouble arisen on the issue as who should control the common agricultural market, whether it would be left over to the E.C.M. Commission or the European Parliament setting up a super-national Europe. It should be remembered that the European Parliament has been given only a consultative status at present and nothing more. In the opinion of Italy, the European Parliament should be strengthened by elections based on universal suffrage to give it prestige and authority. But France is opposed to it, since Gen. De Gaulle dwells upon the idea of defending the political integration of E.C.M. earlier, President De Gaulle had carried Dr. Erhard's move for European Political Unity.

Thus, the Summit meeting was held not only to give an opportunity to consider by June 30, if there was satisfactory progress on the question of economic unity. Now that the European Parliament has come to be caught up in the E.C.M. controversy over the common agricultural market, the political concept of the E.C.M. has added to the problems of the economic difficulties. It may be recalled that among the E.C.M. members, France is the most dominant and essentially an agricultural country who would be a greater beneficiary than any of its partners. India is likely to obtain a substantial World Bank loan to enable her to continue essential industrial maintenance imports.

European Common Market came into being as a result of Treaty of Rome which groups together France, West Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Belgium. Earlier, last year U.K. submitted an application for entry into the E.C.M. as a last report to tide over her economic problems. Although, it met with initial success during the Macmillan regime, yet at the last moment the proposal

was torpedoed by Gen. De Gaulle who openly refused to agree to U.K.'s entry into the E.C.M. This reactionary step was taken by Gen. De Gaulle only in reaction to the Nassau Conference held between U.K. and U.S.A. in which France was not a split in the N.A.T.O. and made Gen. De Gaulle adopt a defiant attitude towards the Government of U.K. But in the present controversy, it can be safely hoped that France will not adopt this attitude, because the maximum advantage of the European Common Market farm will go to France.

CONSTITUTIONAL BREAK DOWN IN CEYLON

Mrs. Bandarnaike, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, has advised the Governor-General to dissolve the Parliament and conduct general elections, since the Coalition Government is no longer in a position to function satisfactorily. This decision was taken by her as a result of the defeat suffered by the Government in the Parliament session on December 3, 1964. The Government was defeated by one vote in the House of Representatives, when the House carried on Opposition amendment by 74 votes to 73 with one abstention. The voting was on the motion of thanks to the Governor-General for his speech from the throne which marked the opening of the 6th session of the Parliament. Mrs. Bandarnaike was compelled to resign, when thirteen Government members, including Mr. C.P. de Silva, senior Minister, changed over to the Opposition after resigning from the Cabinet. Mr. Siva gave his explanation for his own and other Cabinet members' resignation that Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Lanka Sama Samaj Coalition Government was heading towards dictatorship.

It is an unfortunate incident, because the next General Elections are shortly due in Ceylon, and Mrs. Bandarnaike was counting much on her election benefits which might go to her for having entered in so an agreement with the Government of India over the problem of Stateless Indians in Ceylon. But that dream is now shattered. In the opinion of the opposition leader Mr. Dudley Senanaike, there is much resentment in the country, caused as a result of the decision of the Government, to take over the leading newspapers and to impose restrictions and control on the press. Although necessary legislation to this effect is yet awaited, yet popular opinion has started mounting against the Government for its dictatorial trends. Even the Stateless Indians in the country are not happy with the Government. The two leading Unions representing

Stateless Indians working on the plantation have already challenged the provision for creation of a special electoral register of Stateless people admitted to Ceylon citizenship. The economic frustration is also responsible for weakening the Government. Frequent strikes among different classes of industrial labour had earlier compelled the Prime Minister to seek prorogation of Parliament. Although the Government claims to have brought in certain economic measures for the improvement of the economic conditions in the country, yet they are so negligible that they have failed to cause any impact on the masses.

Now, Mrs. Bandarnaike will be faced with a big problem, because the alliance with the L.S.S. will stand the test and perhaps her party will have to fight directly with the U.N.P. which is the leading opposition party. Mrs. Bandarnaike seems to have visualised her forthcoming defeat, and she wanted to gain some advantage by earlier choosing to dissolve the constitutional machinery. But this can get her a disadvantage also, because it has demoralised her Party altogether.

DISTURBANCES IN BHUTAN

The King of Bhutan removed Prime Minister, Lhendup Dorji from the office of the Prime Minister on November 27 and assumed full responsibility for the administration of the kingdom. He has put his brother Dasho Wangchuk in charge of the Army. As a result of the reshuffles made by the King in a bid to improve things which had gone wrong during the period of his illness, five Army Officers had fled Bhutan on November 23, 1964. They were granted asylum in Nepal on December 6, 1964. However, the rebels have been making a false propaganda by black-mailing India who, they say, had been associated with all the upheavals in Bhutan, since 1961. In their opinion, Indian Government knew of the true facts of the assassination of the former Prime Minister, Jigmi Dorji. The rebels have brought forth the following allegations against India :—

- (i) All secret messages of the King were sent to Bhutan through New Delhi.
- (ii) India had promptly alerted border posts to arrest the five refugee officers.
- (iii) The Indian Foreign Minister of State, Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, had offered help to the King for arresting and extraditing them.

(iv) India had violated the International Law by smuggling a driver from Kalimpong and handing him over to the Bhutan Government.

The main cause of disturbances can be traced from the ambitions of Dorji family which had been safely seated in power for the last three generations. The Prime Minister, who had come into power after the assassination of his brother Jigmi Dorji, the former Prime Minister, only about 7 months ago, tried an unsuccessful plot to impose restrictions on the King : by taking advantage of the King's illness. However, the King has risen to the occasion, because he has taken over the powers of the Prime Ministership in his own hands. Meanwhile, it is significant to find the voluntary exit of Dorji family, including King's mother-in-law, Rani Chuni Dorji, and the widow of the late Prime Minister, Mrs. Jigmi Dorji. The King, who is a young man of 36, is an enlightened and progressive individual. He is thus quite forward-looking in his policies. It will be relevant to remember that the deposed Prime Minister is also young, as he is only 28. Comparatively speaking, the King can be considered to be more anti-conservative, and the masses can gain more under his leadership. One thing is quite certain that, if not the Government at least the people of Bhutan are nurturing an ambition to break away from the protection of India. It may be remembered that Bhutan and Sikkim are the Protectorates of India and, as such, India's interference within the specified fields is quite justified. It appears, the resurgence movement has gained momentum in Bhutan, and the people of this country also desire Freedom, as we had earlier granted to Nepal. But we on our part should be wiser by experience, because we have suffered very heavily after displaying our generosity in the case of Nepal. There is no denying the fact, during the days of Chinese invasion on India, Nepal openly supported China against India : and rather, Nepal was used as a pocket by China. Second, we loosen tight grip on Bhutan or even on Sikkim, when we have already lost control of Tibet and Nepal, the Himalayan Kingdoms will go away from our hands, and the loss will be deeper not only the loss of territory but the loss of natural borders that the Himalayas provide.

FREEDOM OF MALDIVES

Maldives Islands (a group of 19 inhabited islands) about 417 miles off Ceylon with a total population of 91,000), has become an independent State on July 26, from the British Colonial Rule. The British Government has granted all rights to the Maldives to conduct their own external relations with all other countries in the manner they may choose. But it continues to enjoy the facilities to maintain a Royal Air Force base at Addu Atoll Island. At last, the British Government has seen the dawn of realities and has begun to allow freedom to all its colonies. It will not be wrong to say that the exit of British imperialism started with India's slipping out of her grip. India's freedom served as an eye-opener to other nations under the British Colonial Rule. Moreover, the 29 Afro-Asian Nations Bandung Conference, representing three-fourth population of the world, held on 18th April 1955, had given a clear warning, "The Bandung Conference is the challenge of the East to West that colonialism is dead and dead for ever". There is another factor no less important for a change in the British policy.

The British Empire, whose sun had never set, stood economically completely shattered after the Second World War. Thus, discouraged by its economic problems, the British Government has no longer the strength to control her colonies. The French Government has also seen realities and by now even the Dutch Government has also reconciled as in the case of West Irian ; the Belgium Government has also withdrawn honourably. But the fifth imperialist nation namely, Portugal still continues to adopt its die-hard policy. No doubt, we in India have succeeded in forcibly taking Goa from the grip of the Portuguese, but the atrocities of the Portuguese Government in Angola, Mezambique and other places are a clear proof of the fact that the Portuguese Government would not come down to an honourable settlement without receiving hammering on its head.

GREECE

Background

When the Premier's son was involved in the Army inquiry, the King did not want the Premier to take over the Defence portfolio. But the Premier, on the other hand, insisted on retaining that powerful portfolio in his hands.

This led to a constitutional conflict between the Crown and the people. It posed a serious constitutional deadlock in the history of Greek Democracy, whether the Premier has his absolute authority to form his own Cabinet without the interference of the King who is a mere constitutional Head or the King can interfere in the matter. Consequently, the Premier had offered to the King the alternative to hold fresh elections to resolve the crisis, because he was quite confident of his popularity to seat him safely in power. Thus the King did not like to face fresh elections, and he had thought it more advisable to appoint Mr. Tsirimokos as the Premier. Obviously, Papandreos's victory signified the corresponding defeat of the King which had a far-reaching significance because when the King hesitated to go in for elections he was left with no other cause except to use his despotic force which tended to amount to negation of democratic principles.

For long, Greece has been at war with Turkey, and even now conditions of tensions exist between Greece and Turkey with the ban of the Island of Cyprus. The 'Enosis' movement (merger of Cyprus in Greece) had been quite active under the leadership of Gen. Grivas. As such, the Government of Turkey had been looking at Greece with suspicion. It will be relevant to remember that even after a reconciliation between Greece and Turkey on the issue of Cyprus through the good offices of British Government, the conditions in Cyprus had not been satisfactory. The ruling Greek-Cypriot group is looked at with suspicion by the minority Turkish Cypriot group which demand the partition of Cyprus.

Political crisis has, once again, captivated Greece, as the new Government of Mr. Elias Tsirimokos formed in the last week of August was voted out on August 29. The Government suffered a defeat in a vote of no-confidence. The young King Constantine is now faced with a problem of fresh decision to set up a stable regime following the resignation of the former Prime Minister George Papandreo on July 15. The crisis started, when the King opposed the Prime Minister's plans for a purge of army officials,

Thus, for the second time, the ex-Premier George Papandreo inflicted a political defeat on the King. The defeat of the new Government within its one week sitting coupled with violent agitation in the streets of Athens, left the King with no choice to resolve his political crisis. He found himself incapable of breaking the support that the ex-Premier enjoyed. Now when Mr. Athanasiatis Novas failed and Mr. Elias Tsirinokos also did not prove successful to enlist the large support of Center Union dissidents, as also when Stephanopoulos has turned down the invitation of the King, the King was left with no leader to look to. At last on September 18, Stephanopoulos was sworn in as the new Premier.

REVOLTS IN BURMA

A section of Buddhist monks, mostly young persons, have raised a strong agitation against the Government in Upper Burma. The agitation was launched following the Convocation organised by the senior section of the Buddhist monks in the middle of March to discuss ways and means to purify the Buddhist religion. In the Convocation, measures were recommended for enforcing discipline among the monks in accordance with the doctrine of Vinaya. Dissident monks manhandled, on April 3, a group of newsmen and photographers at the Buddhist demonstration, and they snatched away their cameras. They went to the extent of raiding the houses of the camera men. On failing to find the newsmen, they left threatening letters in their houses and put up anti-Government posters in the town of Yenangyaung (in Upper Burma). These posters were later torn by the police. As a reaction to it, the monks pasted fresh posters and raided the offices of the political parties and the shops. They removed a portrait of Gen. Ne Win, Chairman of the Burmese Revolutionary Council, from one of the shops and placed it upside down. However, the Government is still adopting a 'wait and see policy'.

STATELESS INDIANS IN CEYLON

India and Ceylon have resolved the deadlock over the 9.75 lakh Stateless Indians in Ceylon. The Agreement was signed between the Prime Minister of the two countries at New Delhi on October 30, 1964, whereby Ceylon has agreed to extend its citizenship to 3 lakh of such Stateless people of Indian origin in Ceylon, together with the natural increase in that number as will accrue in the next 15 years. It may be recalled that this number will be addition to 1.4 lakh stateless Indians who have already secured the right of citizenship in Ceylon. On the other hand, India has agreed to accept repatriation of 5.25 lakh Stateless Indians in Ceylon during the period of 15 years. Rights of Indian Citizenship will be conferred on such migrants.

The Government of Ceylon have agreed to allow the stateless Indians who will thus repatriate to carry their assets including provident fund and gratuity earnings, to India, subject to exchange control regulations in force at the time of their repatriation. In any case, the minimum amount in their case will not be reduced to less than Rs. 4,000. The Government of Ceylon have agreed to grant to the persons to be repatriated to India the same facilities during the period of their stay in Ceylon as are enjoyed by citizens of other States, with the exception of facilities for remittances. Free visas will also be granted to them. Till their repatriation to India or till such time as they attain the age of 55, whichever is earlier, such persons will continue to be in their employment.

In any case, the Agreement is a step in the direction of promotion of peace and goodwill between the two States, particularly in view of Ceylon's momentous role played in the Colombo Proposals. More so, India is already in a quandary over the problem of Indians in Burma and also in Kenya. She is naturally quite anxious to maintain good friendly relations with the neighbouring countries, and she would not desire to be a willing party to a clash in South-East Asia. On the other hand, the Agreement is a positive victory for Ceylon, since Government of India has shown a very liberal attitude to accept the responsibility of 5.25 lakh Ceylonese of India origin. Of course, the problem of 'whose baby' had to be resolved and India had to accept the responsibilities. But in no case, it can be called as a very pleasing or a favourable Agreement. The Prime Minister of Ceylon should rather feel happy and victorious in having resolved the issue with a good bargaining that she made. It will obviously be helpful to her in her forthcoming contest of elections ; and in this respect she stands doubly gainer.

STATELESS INDIAN IN EAST AFRICA

Once again, India is faced with the problem of 'whose baby' Indians abroad. It is feared that the Indians in East Africa are now threatened with statelessness, if they do not take up citizenship of any of the three territories, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, in increasing numbers. In East Africa, there are about three lakh, fifty thousand people of Indian origin, more than half of them in Kenya itself. Hardly 50,000 of these have obtained citizenship of their respective countries of settlement.

There is a movement of Africanisation in the East-African countries, and the governments are making vigorous attempts in every walk of their national life to persuade foreigners to indentify themselves with the Africans. It will be relevant to remember that as a result of these measures taken by these States, thousands of Indians have already been displaced and many of them have left for India or Britain. Anti-India feeling is fact developing among the African leaders who believe that the Indians settled in Africa think themselves superior to the Africans. It is big time Government of India does something in this regard, because it is feared that before long the situation is likely to grow unmanageable and a Ceylon-type exclusive situation may arise.

CHINESE ROCKET BASES IN ALBANIA

China has entered into an agreement with the Government of Albania for establishment of a regular base in Albania. The Government of Albania has permitted the Government of China to build rocket and naval basis in Albania. This would give a great support to China. It may be stated that Albania, amongst the Communist countries, is a satellite of China : and as Soviet Russia has already made advancement in the field of rocket engineering, China has now begun to view with her. This has not only come as an alarming news to India, or even to the West, but it has disturbed the Communist nations much more. Marshall Tito is reported to have felt disturbed at this news, and Yugoslavia's press has warned China of her irregular and irresponsible policy in Albania. This should come as a challenge to the entire world.

AMERICAN NUCLEAR DETERRANT AGAINST PEKING'S THREAT

U.S.A. has stationed a U.S. sub-marine, equipped with Polaris nuclear missiles, in the Pacific Ocean as a counter-measure to Chinese successful nuclear test. It is likely to be followed by another Polaris sub-marine which the U.S.A. proposes to station in the Pacific Ocean next month, and before long the total strength may be realised to 7. The missiles aim at deterring any attack of China who may use or threaten the use of nuclear weapons. The Polaris fleet will be based on Guam Island which is third Overseas Polaris Sub-Marine Base, the first being at Holy Loch in Scotland and the second at Rota in the Southern Coast of Spain. The Polaris missiles would bring within reach most of China's population and her industrial centres, including the places where her nuclear reactors have been set up.

U.S.A. claims that the Polaris equipped sub-marines possess enormous under-water range, each with 16 Polaris missiles, which could be fired while submerged, and thus there is little risk of their detection and counter-attack.

Until China's display of her nuclear strength, U.S.A. had her strategic target list of maintained in a conventional manner : and it was far fewer in number than the one in the Soviet Union target complex. But now in view of the demonstration of strength by China, U.S.A. had to revise her policy.

PEKING-DESIGNED ANTI-NUCLEAR SUMMIT CONFERENCE

After having bowed down her neighbouring countries in Asia with the explosion of Atom bomb and after having entered into the nuclear club of 5-world Powers China has started advocating peace by a voluntary ban on nuclear tests. China is, thus, making every possible endeavour to take advantage of the present situation which she has created by intimidating her neighbouring countries. Whether she uses her bomb or not is a different story. The very consciousness of the presence of such a bomb in the hands of the reckless leader of China poses a serious threat to mankind. The

American Broadcasting Company of Science Correspondent has given an warning that even with the small-yield nuclear bomb that China has exploded, China is capable of causing utter devastation of India and Japan with her supersonic jet bombers. It will take China hardly three years more to produce high-yield bomb and perhaps, 5 years to build missiles.

Chou-En-Lai, in his letter of October 17, 1964, stated, that although China has joined the nuclear weapons development peace, his Government would never take initiative in using a nuclear weapon. As the Chinese Prime Minister asserted, China would use these weapons only legitimate self-defence. He, thus, wrote "Pursuant to the Chinese policies of general nuclear disarmament of Peking Government proposes that leaders of nuclear armed powers and those of nations about to be holders of nuclear weapons should first conclude an agreement guaranteeing non-use of weapons and they should then agree with non-holders to prevent further nuclear armament." India has categorically rejected the proposal to attend such a Summit Conference, although it is in itself uncertain whether the proposal will ever materialise. It is curious to remember that China and France were the two notable exceptions who had categorically refused to sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty in accordance with the Moscow Agreement. The United States, Britain and Soviet Russia and besides them many non-nuclear nations who have signed the Test Ban Treaty : are surprised at Chinese new overtures. It appears China has now resorted to winning public opinion by demonstrating her strength to fight and then preaching peace and ban on nuclear tests. In a communication addressed to Japan, Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai of China said, "Since it is the common wish of all mankind to be free of nuclear threat, the Peking Government hopes that the Japanese Government will support Chinese proposal for a Summit Anti-nuclear Conference, communicating to Peking the immediate reaction of the Japanese people to the proposal".

N.A.T.O. NUCLEAR FORCE AND REPERCUSSIONS

United States is trying hard to develop multilateral mixed-manned nuclear surface fleet of the N.A.T.O. She realises that this step would strengthen the position of N.A.T.O. against the possible threat of communists. In the recent talks held at Washington on December 7, between President Johnson and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, U.S.A. sought a mixed manned surface fleet and offered to permit Britain to include some national elements. But she does wish the have mixed crews on the American side. However, the British attitude seems to be yet of 'wait and see' as can be gathered from the Prime Minister's talk in Washington. The U.S. Administration has been particularly disturbed to hear that in the meeting between President De Gaulle and Dr. Adenauer, the Germany Ruling Party has favoured delaying the project. Meanwhile, it has been decided that the tank which the West Germany and the United States are jointly developing would weigh about 60 tons. The United States would build three destroyers equipped with latest U.S. anti-aircraft missiles for West Germany.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union has given a warning that she would take counter-measures to ensure the security of the communist world, if the projected N.A.T.O. Multilateral Force was set up. The Soviet Government has described the Multilateral Force as a bid by West Germany 'revenge seekers' to gain access to nuclear weapons. It has alleged that West Germany has already begun preparations to throw off all restrictions in the military sphere. It has warned that West Germany has no right to enter into any new agreement between the Allies. It reminded the Western Powers of the fact that they were equally bound by the provisions of the Potsdam Treaty that the Soviet Union did not intend giving up her right under the agreements. Soviet Russia believes that even if U.S.A. maintains control over the use of the weapons, the N.A.T.O. Force will still give West Germany access to American nuclear secrets and would thus, enable West Germany to make her own new weapons. In fact, the United States and the German Federal Republic are the only two countries pushing hard for this project, because France has openly opposed it and Britain is yet adopting dilatory tactics.

It may, however, be stated that although the Soviet Union has a legal stand that the responsibility of peace-making rests with the Security Council, U.N. Constitution provides that maintaining peace

and security is within the residuary role of the General Assembly as well. In the light of the provisions of Article 11, 12, 15 and 25 of the U.N. Charter, the General Assembly can discuss any question, make recommendations to a State or States concerned or to the Security Council in such matter.

Accordingly, 33 Nation-Committee has been set up to review the matter. It is feared that if recommendations of this Committee are torpedoed by the veto power exercised by any of the five permanent members of the Security Council, the matter would be referred to the General Assembly. The General Assembly is empowered by its two-third majority to refer the matter back to the Security Council, and if the Security Council again fails to agree to such a reference from the General Assembly the nations which will disagree, would not have any legal obligation to pay for the U.N. Force. Now the major issue remains uncertain whether and how far it would really amount to reductions the power of veto and, as such, how far Soviet Russia would be willing to concede to it.

C.O.N.E.F.O. AS RIVAL TO U.N.

Indonesia and China are planning to raise an Organisation entitled C.O.N.E.F.O. as a rival to the United Nations. Accordingly, a conference is likely to be held at Djakarta next year to finalise the arrangements. In his regard, China has made an offer to provide engineers, cement and equipment to construct a building for the C.O.N.E.F.O. It appears, President Soekarno who is the mind behind the proposal is making serious attempts to raise a rival world organisation, whether he succeeds in his design or not. Asia is likely to be split into two groups of nations which would be something very unfortunate. It may be stated that when President Soekarno announced at the Bandung Conference Anniversary, the proposal of setting up C.O.N.E.F.O. it was hailed by China, North Vietnam and North Korea. However, the representatives of the other countries did not express their reaction by way of approval or otherwise of the proposal.

It is evident that China is now trying to built up her own strength. China is out to spit into the face of the United Nations, because she has her own satellites, including the opportunist Indonesia. China is already striving for capturing the leadership of Asia. That is why she has disputed the right of Russia as an Asian country. Obviously, it should cause a serious danger to the entire free world, because any strength that China gets from her satellites would creat a serious problem for the whole world. *

U.N. CO-OPERATION YEAR

The World Federation of U.N. Association, which met at New Delhi on January 23, has cautioned that it will be difficult to implement the programme of International Co-operation for which 1965 was ear-marked as an ideal year by the U.N., at the suggestion of Jawahar Lal Nehru. In his inaugural address, Union Minister Swaran Singh pointed out that the dispute between the United States and the Soviet Union over the payment of dues for the U.N. Peace-keeping Operations is posing a serious problem to the very existence of the U.N.O. He, however, pointed out that danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons, the last relics of colonialism and racialism in Africa, and Indonesia's withdrawal from the U.N.O. were other serious questions which had disturbed international peace and had obviously become serious issues for which the U.N.O. might see embarrassment. Of course, India's Minister for External Affairs had not anticipated U.S. massive aerial attack on the 7th February which should now be considered as the most explosive issue. What a poor augury for 1965 ! It is feared that the trouble in Vietnam may in itself bring about a major clash between the Communist and the Democratic world. If Soviet Union means what she has said, perhaps she would not accept Cuba-type withdrawal in this case. Moreover, China will not so easily yield to these threats.

In his welcome address as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Shri A.K. Sen, Union Law Minister, pointed out that great changes in the U.N.O. were found since it was established about 20 years ago, specially after many independent Asian and African nations had joined it. Secretary General, U Thant, in his message, explained how 1965 was earmarked as an International Co-operation Year. He said that the "U.N. today is the most important and universal example of international co-operation at the Government level. Through its working in so many fields of activity it is the hope of the thousands of millions of people for peace and security and more abundant life."

RIFT IN U.N.O.

U.S.A. has invoked Article 19 of the U.N. Charter requesting the General Assembly to penalise Russia by taking away her right to vote, if Russia and other countries refuse to pay the U.N. arrears. U.S.A. has given a challenge that she would not be willing to contribute to various U.N. Specialised Agencies in the same proportion, as she has been doing so far, if no suitable action is taken against the member countries who have refused to contribute to the U.N. operations. She has further threatened that as a protest she would not be willing to pledge any funds for the expanded U.N. Technical Programmes. It may be remembered that normally 40% of the cost of the Technical Programmes is borne by U.S.A.

It appears that Soviet Russia is determined not to contribute to U.N. operations which, in her opinion, were not justified. The problem becomes doubly confused, because apparently United States has not been able to mobilise much support for her drive to penalise Russia. If U.S.A. also stops her contribution as a protest, it would virtually mean closing down the whole show and demoralising the world body. The issue will drift away from legality and international ethics to financial pressures, and it is quite probable that the U.N. may also be dissolved or may be virtually rendered a defunct organisation. It is curious to find that India is likely to support the stand of Soviet Russia on the interpretation of Clause 19 of the U.N. Charter which U.S.A. has invoked. Clause 19 of the U.N. Charter defines that a country, which remains in arrears of U.N. dues for two years, will not hereafter enjoy voting right in the General Assembly. Russia has refused to pay her contribution to the cost of the U.N. Peace-keeping Operations in the Congo and to the expenditure on the U.N. Expeditionary Forces. Russia, on the other hand, argues that the U.N. operations in the Congo as also in West Asia were illegal and as such, the money spent on them could not be regarded as obligatory expenses, for the member countries. India supports Soviet Russia that the issue is more political than procedural. The question entails significant consequences, because the disqualification will not only apply to Russia, but it will affect 9 other countries as well, namely, Bolivia, Byelo, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Paraguay, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine and Yemen; next year France is likely to fall in the line. The main consideration with India is that it will be unfair that a founder member of the World Organisation and permanent member of the Security Council should be without a vote, in the General Assembly. In the opinion of India, United Nations Organisation will suffer a

great loss, of Russia and thereafter France, are deprived of their voting rights in the General Assembly by the rigid interpretation of Clause 19 of the U.N. Charter. The question will, however, come up for discussion in the 19th Session of the General Assembly which will open on December 1, 1964.

United Nation's Dues Crisis

United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, suggested new ways of solving U.N. dispute over payment of arrears for peace-keeping operations. It may be recalled that Russia, France, among other small countries, have refused to pay for U.N. operations, which they consider, were illegally undertaken by the United Nations. Soviet Union is of the view that 'peace-keeping' is the sole responsibility of the Security Council and as such it should not be obligatory on the member nations to pay any extra amount for the purpose. According to U.N. Constitution, the members who are in arrears are deprived of their voting rights. But the question arises if the two defaulting powerful nations, namely Russia and France, are deprived of their right of voting, the functioning of the U.N. body in itself would become an impossibility.

RUSSIA'S REJOINDER TO CHINA

Soviet Union has sent a strong rejoinder to China in connection with the Moscow riots. It categorically repudiated China's allegation against the alleged harsh treatment, by the Soviet Government of Chinese demonstrators outside the U.S. Embassy. It gives a threat that any further violation of the Soviet law and order by the Chinese would be resolutely put down and offenders would be punished in accordance with the Soviet laws. The Soviet note added : "The Soviet Foreign Ministry categorically rejects the protests contained in the note of the People's Republic of Chinese Embassy to point out that in this protest the Chinese Embassy permits itself intolerable attacks against the Soviet Union and even tries to teach us how to fight imperialism".

The riots took place outside the U.S.A. Embassy in Moscow on March 6, 1965 in protest against U.S. aerial bombardment on Hanoi. The Soviet Union has made it clear that they have their own attitude for fighting imperialists, but they would not like to be influenced by the Chinese way of doing things. The readers are fully aware that Russia today is anti-Stalinistic and, thus, more Leninistic. It has, in its policy, adopted a more flexible attitude

forwards the imperialists, instead of traditional prejudices and animosities. China, on the other hand, adopts a die-hard Stalinistic approach, *i.e.*, she does not believe in the co-existence of a socialist and capitalist society. In fact, the Stalinistic China and the Leninistic Russia have reached the point of cleavage, because whereas Russia has changed in the light of changing circumstances good sense has yet not prevailed upon China. Thus, there exists an ideological clash between China and Russia, so much so that it can easily be predicted that before long international politics is likely to change. Today Russia, is much more inclined towards U.S.A. than China. And on the other hand, China is showing overtures to the European countries.

In fact, in the Western block too, there is heart-burning that the cater-cousins find. U.K. owes a secret grudge to U.S.A., because the later has deprived the former of supremacy. She has, thus, provided was ships to China to win her over.

It may also be stated that in the imperialistic riots, Chinese citizens who took part in the demonstration began to attack the Soviet ~~polis~~. The Soviet Union has, accordingly, accused the Chinese Embassy, in Moscow of organising demonstration outside the American Embassy so as to lend an air of cheerfulness to its story about an alleged suppression of demonstration at Butkins Hotel. It may be stated that a group of Chinese citizens, as organised by the Chinese Embassy, went to the Botkins Hotel and demanded groundlessly to be hospitalised for having received serious injuries. The Soviet Hospital authorities established that these persons did not need any hospitalisation and, accordingly, refused admission. As a reaction to it, the Chinese started a row in the Hotel.

LAOS CRISIS

After the War of Indo-China, Indo-China was divided into North Vietnam (Pro-Communist), South Vietnam (Pro-Western), Cambodia (Neutralist) and Laos (Neutralist). Accordingly in Laos the Government was formed under the Neutralist Leader Souvanna Phouma, but the Geneva Agreement which envisaged the setting up of the International Commission of 14 nations on Laos did not seriously take into consideration the point that two Provinces of Laos continued to be predominantly under the influence of the Communists who maintained a separate military unit of their own. Afterwards Souvanna Phouma found it impossible to enjoy the support of the Communist group (Pathet Lao), and accordingly he went into

voluntary exile.. Therefore, Prince Boun Oum (Pro-Western) succeeded him but, Prince Boun Oum again realised in 1962 that he could not win over the support of the Communists. The 14-nation Commission was recalled and U.S.A. compelled Boun Oum to resign. On the refusal of the later U.S.A. stopped bearing the expenditure of the local administration, with the result that Boun Oum was compelled to yield. Accordingly, Prince Souvanna Phouma (Neutralist Reader) was the Communist Leader, was appointed Deputy Premier whereas Boun Oum chose to withdraw. Recently the trouble restarted in Laos consequent on desertions in the Neutralist group and the reopening of disturbances by the Pathet Lao. Prince Souvanna Phouma has made an appeal for cease-fire among the Phat Lao group, the dissidents among the neutralists, and the neutralists.

CUBA CRISIS

The corrupt rule (dictatorial, though democratic) of Baptista in Cuba (an island in Caribbean sea in Central America), all Central American States are called (Latin-American States) was notorious for repression and country's economy was dependant on prostitution to the extent of about 90 per cent. As early as in 1953 Fidel Castro raised a voice of revolt which was however crushed. But later with the support of peasants, students and women, he organised a revolt and captured power on 1-1-1959 (attack on 31-12-1958). As a revolutionary Fidel Castro banned prostitution, introduced land reforms, ended landlordism, declared himself, a socialist, dismissed thousands of corrupt officers and killed 5,000 of them. This set afoot counter-revolution under the leadership of Gen. Dias, a dismissed officer who had sought asylum (protection) in U.S.A. Supported by U.S.A. who had grudged unto Cuba on account of nationalisation of U.S. interests in Cuban Sugar Industry, Gen. Dias organised an attack on Castro's regime in Feb. 1960. This entailed heavy losses to Cuba, but Russian's warning softened the situation and U.S.A. withdrew support. Afterwards U.S.A. continued to pile up military installations on the borders of Cuba which compelled the later to seek Russian assistance. In 1962 Russian war-warships en-route to Cuba were blocked by U.S.A. since the 21 Pan American States had deemed Russian warships and guided missiles as a threat to the continent. However, with the timely intervention of the U.N. Secretary General, the situation was controlled, when Russia agreed to dismantle the basis of Cuba and the U.S.A. assured, in turn, non-intervention in Cuba.

U.A.R. YEMEN RECONCILIATION

Background

But why President Nasser has now adopted a soft tone ? He has realised that three years of war have not broken down the resistance of the royalist tribes supported by Saudi Arabia. Economic consideration has also been borne in mind by the U.A.R. President who understands that the maintaining of U.A.R. troops to the tune of 50,000 in Yemen proves a great strain on U.A.R.'s economy. Moreover, U.A.R.'s influence has also declined appreciably in Iran and Maghreb. It may be remembered that President Nasser had earlier agreed to give support to Adeni Abdullah Esnag for his negotiated settlement of Aden's constitutional claims. It has always been the keen intention of President Nasser to build up a strong Muslim brotherhood in the Middle East, and the Federation of U.A.R. was a step in that direction. But the major cause of conflict had all along been as who should be the leader of the Arab League. The movement started in Saudi Arabia, and as such Saudi Arabia would desire that it would control in its hands the strings of the organisation. On the other hand, the political victories of Nasser have made him rise head and shoulders above other Muslim countries. Thus, at present the success or failure of the Arab League and Muslim Brotherhood are essentially dependent upon U.A.R.'s reaction and role in it. President Nasser tried to consolidate his power by combining Syria and Yemen with Egypt. But later on the internal disturbances in Yemen caused mainly due to conflict between pro-Nasser and the anti-Nasser sections, led to the breaking away of Yemen. Syria also followed the suit, but the towering personality of Nasser had all along kept up his interest in Yemen and Syria, because it is his utmost desire that the Federation of U.A.R., comprising Egypt, Syria and Yemen should serve as a spring-board for the ultimate Confederation of the Muslim States in the Middle-East.

President Nasser of U.A.R. and Aunir Feisal of Yemen have agreed upon ending the tensions of war between U.A.R. and Yemen. Accordingly, cease-fire has been effected. U.A.R. has agreed to withdraw all her troops from Yemen and would start doing so on November 23, phased over a 10 month period. It may also be remembered that Saudi Arabia has already committed to stop immediately all military aid to the Yemen Royalists. It has also been decided to set up a Joint Peace Committee of Yemeni Republicans and Royalists to supervise the cease-fire. It will be duly assisted by the U.A.R. and Saudi force. The agreement envisages the final phase of plebiscite by November 23, 1966 at the latest, to decide the future from of Govt. of Yemen.

The arrangement goes a long way to reduce conditions of tensions in Yemen, but much will depend on how smoothly the Peace Committee and the care-taker Government function. It is, however, quite gratifying to note that the agreement to exclude President Salal and Imabir Badr from the proposed care-taker Government of Yemen provides an assurance of U.A.R. and Saudi Arabia's bona fides. It may also be recalled that the former Premier of Yemen, Mr. Ahmed Nomah had been demanding to proceed towards this goal, when he was overthrown by President Salal in July last with the connivance of U.A.R. Even King Hussain had also held similar views.

REPRESSION IN ANGOLA

It is situated in the West Coast of Africa and has an area of 4,81,351 miles. It has been Portuguese colony since the 15th century. Consequent on the atrocities committed by Salazar's regime, the resurgents organised a revolution in March 1962. The Portuguese authorities killed about 800 negroes in one month. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese on the resurgents brought about worldwide condemnation. The United Nations censured Salazar's Government on its refusal to furnish information about its colonies ; and U.N. General Assembly categorically refused to accept on 30th January, 1962, Portugal's plea that her overseas colonies are the Provinces of her Empire. It depreciated repression and armed action committed by Portugal against the people of Colony.

Accordingly, in April 1962, the Angola Government in exile was formed by Holden Roberts Leopoldville. Angola has been promised assistance by many free African nations. The Congo (Leopoldville) Government has formally recognised the military training of the Angolan nationalists. The African Summit Conference held at Addis Ababa recommended breaking of diplomatic ties with Angola ; and the Government of U.A.R. accordingly did so.

AFRICAN SUMMIT CONFERENCE

A Conference of Heads of African States was held on 23rd May to 25th May, 1963 at Addis Ababa. 29 African States participated in it. It decided :

- (1) Establishment of an organisation of African States with a permanent secretariat, entrusted with the task of formulation of policies.
- (2) Establishment of an Assembly of Heads of States which should meet once a year or every other year. This will be the supreme body.

WEST IRIAN CRISIS

Indonesia became free in 1949 from the Dutch rule, and Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty stated that the future Sovereign State of Indonesia "shall comprise the entire territory of the Netherlands' East Indies". On account of the problem of Papuans in the Island of West Irian, it was assured by the Dutch Government that the future of this Island would be determined with 12 months. But the Government of Netherlands failed to keep its promise. Rather, it amended the Dutch Constitution in 1952 to establish Netherlands' Sovereignty over West Irian. It continued silently and secretly developing West Irian for self determination. On the other hand, the Government of Indonesia lost its patience, and encouraged by India's example of military action in Goa she resorted to violence. Jungle fighting started from April 1962 between the Dutch and the Indonesian troops.

However, as a result of mediatory talks of U.N.O. and of U.S.A., Bunker formula was evolved to resolve the West Irian crisis. Cease-fire was effected on 18th August, 1963. Accordingly, from the 1st October 1962, the Netherlands gave West Irian to a temporary U.N. executive authority ; and, in accordance with the Bunker formula, the U.N. turned it over to Indonesia on 1st May, 1963. U.N. Representative would stay in the territory until 1969, when Indonesia would, under the U.N. supervision, conduct a plebiscite in West Irian to ascertain whether the Papuan inhabitants wanted Indonesian Administration or Independence.

INDIA'S NUCLEAR FORCE POTENTIALITY

There is no reason to doubt that India has the potentiality to explode for her first nuclear device within 12 months of deciding to do so. Mr Buchan quotes Dr. Bhabha : "Since about 1958 the programme of nuclear force has been shaped in such a way as to make it possible to produce weapons grade plutonium and the last stone in the arc was completed when a chemical separation plant went into operation at Trombay near Bombay last August". According to Mr. Alstair Buchan, Chairman of the Institute of Strategic Studies, an Indian strategic nuclear force would cost £1800 million sterling. (It will be 45", more than India's total current defence expenditure.) In his broadcast from B.B.C. on the dilemma of India's security, Mr. Buchan pointed out that India has made the beginning of a missile programme in the high altitude metereological rockets, as acquired from France. These could be gradually developed into a series of medium and long-range ground-to-ground rockets. In his opinion, India has ability to threaten reprisal against the chief Chinese cities with thermo-nuclear weapons which may cost India something like £18,00000000

There is no doubt, that from the day India set up her first atomic energy reactor at Trombay in collaboration with Canada, India displayed, under the leadership of Dr. Bhabha, that Indian scientists are capable of producing atomic energy. Moreover, India is rich in minerals, with the availability of uranium and thorium and with the possibility of exploring heavy water. India is one of the most fortunately placed countries in the world, we can easily develop nuclear strength. But on the other hand however, the Government seems to be wedded of the policy of neutrality and peace. India's former Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, had gone to the extent of saying that under no circumstances India will use her atomic energy for the purpose of war. But we must be realistic and judge things from the point of view of realism of the Rajputs and the Romans. In these days when guerilla warfare is considered to be ethically justified and when the strong nations like China are out to become bully and even the powerful nations like U.S.A. are not likely to spare the Dominican Republic, reading the heads of broken idealism of the time gone by would, obviously, mean that our leaders should vacate the high places and sit with their heads closely shaven at a religious place to pray to gods for peace and tranquility in the world. It may be remembered

that the first and the foremost responsibility of every Government (be it a 'Police State' or a 'Welfare State') is the maintenance of law and order. When the country is constantly exposed to aggression from outside and we repeat the old mythical stories of not allowing a cow to be killed but allowing thousands of men to be killed by the foreign invaders, history will throw us back into a heap of the dead corpses of the past.

Nuclear Proliferation

India warned the United Nations Disarmament Commission, on May 4, that unless the world community does something to check threat, nuclear proliferation as posed by China, will grow unmanageable. India's Permanent Representative, Shri B. N. Chakravarty, gave a five point programme to deal effectively with the problem of nuclear proliferation. It proposes formulation of what has been loosely called nuclear umbrella proposal. It may be recalled that the U.N.O. has already decided to safeguard the security of a country that may threatened by powers having nuclear weapons capability or who are embarking on a nuclear weapons capability. Besides, India has proposed tangible steps to be taken towards disarmament, including therein a comprehensive test ban treaty, a complete freeze of production of nuclear weapons and means of delivery and substantial reduction of existing stocks. It would be admitted that the main consideration behind these proposals is to make such measures that would go a long way in freezing Chinese nuclear capability at her present level of developments in which she had already made a test but has not fully begun manufacturing nuclear weapons on a military scale.

India's programme also demands an undertaking by nuclear powers not to transfer their nuclear weapons or nuclear weapons technology to others ; and undertaking not to use nuclear weapons against countries which do not possess them and an undertaking by non-nuclear powers not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons. India fully recognises the need to ensure reduction of conventional weapons parallel to nuclear disarmament, or otherwise countries like China who enjoy the benefit of massive military establishment would stand to benefit. Indian note categorically stated : "We in India are particularly conscious of the danger posed by large conventional arms. On of our neighbouring countries boasts of an army of 3 million men with the support of 200 million military men. It is all very well to talk of a world conference to destroy nuclear weapons of each countries, but the international community must also demand pari passu that with nuclear disarmament there should be full scale reduction of such menacingly large armies and armaments.

The significant feature in India's note is the sharp distinction drawn between powers already possessing a nuclear weapons capability and those embarking on such a capability. Its chief aim is to

establish nuclear powers. (U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and FRANCE) and to insist on measures calculated to resist her efforts to join them.

It may be remembered that there is a proposal to convene a World Conference on disarmament to which China is being invited. India has pointed out that the present time shall not be suited to the convening of such a Conference and it would be better to wait until further progress was made towards finalising details of a comprehensive disarmament treaty. However, India has suggested that the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee should resume its work shortly and take into consideration proposals that might be made at the current session of the Disarmament Commission.

UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TESTS

Background

It may be recalled that the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed in August 1963 at Moscow in which both U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. showed vital interest. It is fortunate that with the notable exception of France and People's Republic of China, almost all the nations of the world have signed the Treaty. This is a step in the right direction, and it is the first achievement of the Disarmament Commission. It may be remembered that for long there had been a deadlock on the question of disarmament, because whereas the Western Powers were willing to have a 'package plan' i.e., a complete ban on all weapons, including nuclear weapons, U.S.S.R. wanted that the issues of Disarmament and Ban on Nuclear Tests should be treated separately. Now when the first objection of the U.S.S.R. has been met and some understanding has been reached, it would be possible for the Super Powers to come to some agreement on the entire question of disarmament.

The United States have made an appeal to the Soviet Union on September 2, to collaborate to work out a system of reasonable and unobstructive on-site inspections to verify underground nuclear test ban. The U.S. delegate informed the 17-nation Disarmament Conference that recent major improvements in seismological research have made it possible to identify 80% of all earth tremors that could be mistaken for the shock waves of short underground tests. However, 25% of doubtful tremors still remain unidentifiable by any known method. The U.S. delegate explained that in those circumstances U.S.A. would not be able to say whether the seismic signal originated in an earthquake by alternative methods under check that those unidentified events in the Soviet Union are not explosions. Thus, this can be safeguarded by the use of on-site inspections. Accordingly, the Government of U.S.A. has argued Soviet Russia to abandon their refusal to discuss any kind of on-site inspector. It has assured that U.S.A. was prepared to take into account any scientific improvement by which inspection would be reduced to a minimum.

But these proposals have been rejected by the U.S.S.R. The Soviet delegate informed that there was no change in the Russian position that on-site inspections were totally unnecessary. Britain however, called on Soviet Union to submit its own draft treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The British delegate criticised that Soviet Union had shown no readiness so far to discuss the American Draft Treaty. He further criticized that Moscow has also failed to give a clear answer to British question what factual objection U.S.S.R. can raise against the American plan.

BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTS

The Moscow Treaty banning tests of nuclear weapons in three media has not only put an end to the contamination of the atmosphere, outer space and water with lethal radio-active fall-out. It has also checked the further spread of nuclear weapons. The conclusion of this Treaty helped to reduce international tensions. It has proved that agreement is possible and that no efforts should be spared in seeking mutually acceptable solutions to other equally urgent matters.

One of such issues, as the preamble to the Moscow Treaty emphasised, is the banning of all tests of nuclear weapons for all time. The conclusion, in addition to the Moscow Treaty, of an agreement on the prohibition of under-ground tests would, in fact, mean putting an end to any further development of nuclear weapons. That, in turn, would lead to a substantial restriction in the nuclear arms race and would produce a much healthier international atmosphere.

Unpleasant Repercussion of Nevada Tests

It is no secret that after the signing of the Moscow Treaty, the United States of American and Britain, far from stopping under-ground tests, have on the contrary stepped them up in every way. This called forth protests and indignant condemnation on the part of the world public. And this was quite natural too ; for, by conducting an increased number of underground tests, the U.S.A. and Britain are thereby undermining the spirit of the Moscow agreement, adding grist to the mill of its opponents.

Trying to play down somehow the unpleasant repercussions from underground blasts in Nevada, Washington and London took great pains to create an impression to the effect that the conclusion of an all-embracing agreement on banning nuclear tests is being supposedly prevented by the Soviet Union. In obviously inspired dispatches, the American and British newspapers have alleged that at the Geneva talks the U.S.S.R. is deliberately steering the debate away from this problem.

Of course, in reality, neither there was, nor could there be, anything of the kind. The Soviet Union has always, been and remains to be vigorous advocate of a total, all-inclusive prohibition of nuclear tests. It took up this position before the Moscow Treaty and still maintains

it now. This attitude of the Soviet Union is further substantiated by the memorandum of the Soviet Government on the measures for the further reduction of international tensions and the restriction of the arms race, submitted to the 19th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The memorandum stresses the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in three environments has created a favourable situation of the question of banning all nuclear tests. The U.S.S.R. is ready, at a moment's notice, to reach agreement on the prohibition of underground nuclear tests as well, on the basis of national means of control.

Better prospects on the horizon

It looks as if owing to a number of reasons Washington and London have lately displayed greater interest in the prohibition of all tests. The American newspapers, referring to 'reliable sources', have recently written that it is possible in the near future to expect official initiative from the U.S.A. with respect to the conclusion of a treaty banning underground tests. This gives rise to some hopes. All the more so, since the recent successes in the development of seismic methods of detection are now much in the news abroad and they, as the New York Times emphasised on December, 7, allow Washington to rely mainly on detecting stations situated outside the Soviet Union.

Well, it seems that Washington is beginning to incline to a sensible point of view, while London, if American Press reports are to be believed, has already accepted it. London, said the Washington Post of December 10, is now convinced that the fact of any underground tests can really be established without on-the-site inspection.

Where's the hitch then ? What needs to be done is to sit down and sign an agreement ? The Soviet Union has long been calling for the banning of underground tests without on-the-site inspection, for which there is no need.

Let us assume that the U.S. Government, as distinct from the Government of the U.S.S.R. and Britain, is not yet really convinced that national means of detection are absolutely reliable. But can it be taken as a sufficient reason for rejecting an agreement ? Who would risk to violate the Treaty concluded, even if there is a slender chance that the violation goes unnoticed ? Such a camouflaged explosion, if possible at all, would be of negligible value. Yet the scandal in the even of its detection would be truly immense.

Besides, the U.S. Government itself seems to admit that in the very near future the means of detection of underground tests will become absolutely reliable.

To facilitate the understanding of the readers, text of the Test Ban Treaty, signed on 5th August, 1965, at Moscow, is given below :—

Article I

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertake to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion at any place under its jurisdiction or control.

Article II

Any party may propose amendments to this Treaty. Any amendment to the Treaty must be approved by a majority of votes of all the peoples to this Treaty, including the votes of all the original parties.

Article III

This Treaty shall be open to all States for signature. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory States.

Article IV

This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration. Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty, if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject-matter of Treaty, have jeopardised the supreme interests of its country.

ECONOMIC NECESSITY OF DISARMAMENT

Every day some 120,000 million dollars are spent in the world for military purposes, this is tantamount to the national income being thrown out into the sea. And at the same time, as Secretary-General of the U.N., U Thant pointed out at the Session of the E.C.O.S.O.C., "the gap between the developed countries in terms of gross national income per head of population is widening."

It is quite natural that the World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, held in Helsinki also paid much attention to these problems. A special Commission on the questions of social and economic consequences of the armaments race, following heated arguments, worked out recommendations which were adopted by the Congress. The arms drive in itself is a factory that enhances international tension and the threat of war. But direct aggressive actions egg on still more this lethal race.

MAJOR TASKS OF E.C.O.S.O.C. (ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF U.N.O.)

It was against this that the forum in Geneva came out, opening to the accompaniment of shell and bomb explosions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. And it was not easy for the U.S. representative to try to persuade the participants of the E.C.O.S.O.C. Session that aviation, infantry and navy of the U.S.A. were in those spots of the globe 'for the purpose of self-defence'. His fellow-country men in Helsinki gave a somewhat different formulation, stating that their Government is using immoral means in Vietnam to achieve immoral ends.

Speaking at the plenary meeting of E.C.O.S.O.C. Mr. U Thant pointed to one of the major tasks of the Economic and Social Council—supporting the developing of international co-operation in all spheres. This thought was put forward before representatives of many countries that took part in the discussions in the social and economic consequences of disarmament, including the delegates of the U.A.R., India, Ghana, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and others. But the U.S.

representative came out against the E.C.O.S.O.C. taking up political problems, although he did not share his 'secret' of how it is possible to settle the question without touching on the problems of peace, peaceful co-existence and multiplying the efforts of all countries to achieve an agreement on general and complete disarmament.

Soviet 11-Point Disarmament Proposals

Soviet Foreign Minister presented on December 7, 1964, 11-point Proposals to the U.N. General Assembly, outlining the measures which the Soviet Government proposes to introduce for relaxing world tensions and accelerating total and complete disarmament. The proposals read as under :—

1. Reduction of military budgets.
2. Withdrawal or reduction of foreign troops in the territories of other countries.
3. Elimination of foreign military bases in alien territories.
4. Prevention of further spread of nuclear weapons.
5. Prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons.
6. Establishment of denuclearised zones.
7. Prohibition of under-ground nuclear weapon tests.
8. Elimination of Bomber Aircrafts.
9. Conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the N.A.T.O. and the Warsaw Treaty countries.
10. Prevention of surprise attacks.
11. Reduction of the total number of troops.

While presenting the proposals, the Soviet Foreign Minister said : "The U.N. Member States must be fully aware of the fact that the plans for the creation of a multilateral nuclear force are the main obstacles in the way of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons which the Soviet Union is ready to join." He alleged that no steps could be taken to implement the Geneva Disarmament negotiations for the simple reason that certain N.A.T.O. States were opposed to introduction of disarmament. He supported China by remarking that the proposal made by the Government of China for holding a World Summit Conference to discuss the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons was such which could be considered as worthy positive consideration.

On the other hand, U.S.A. has also agreed in principle to effect defence cuts in her next year budget. Let us hope for the best, though no clear outline is yet available at the U.S. level. It can easily be assumed that if there is sincerity of purpose felt by both the Super Powers, there is no reason why international tensions should not be reduced. But alongside with it, something will have to be done to bell the cat in China, because as long as China remains let loose she is likely to infect the atmosphere to the greatest suffering of mankind.

Kenya attained her Independence on December 11, 1964, within the Commonwealth. It may be recalled that Kenya has completed one year's tenure of Dominion status within the Commonwealth, and with a British Governor-General. Now it will assume the status of a Republic. After Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia and Nigeria, now Kenya will be the 5th African Republic within the Commonwealth. Kenya's Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta, has been appointed as Kenya's first Executive President.

Firing at U.N. Headquarters

The United Nations Headquarters was the scene of explosion of a bomb in the East River near the United Nations Building, when Cuba's Minister in-Charge of Industries addressed the General Assembly on December 11. Anti-Castro Cubans demonstrated before the building, urging the withdrawal of Russian missiles from Cuba and also the conduct of free elections in the country. The demonstrators went to the extent of removing the flag of Cuba, but they were later prevented by the Guards.

The shell missed the 38th floor glass-building by 100 to 150 yards, and fell into the river nearby. Although no casualty was reported, yet it symbolises an insult to the United Nations. Moreover, it has opened door for such sort of activities : and before long we shall find that demonstrations and agitations will henceforth be staged at the very Headquarters of the United Nations. Whatever be the internal disputes that the people may have with their own Government, they should not bring in the United Nations because, in the final analysis, it encourage certain groups in the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE

Commonwealth Conference was held in London from 18th to 25th June, 1965, in which 21 Commonwealth nations participated.

Deliberations of the Conference

1. *Vietnam.* The Conference gave an undivided support to the proposal of Vietnam Peace Mission, headed by Prime Minister Mr. Wilson. It called upon the mission to continue to function and report its activities to the Heads of 21 Governments. In the opinion of Mr. Wilson, "If the U.N. had taken interest in Vietnam's negotiated settlement, it would probably have been attempted. In the event, the Commonwealth forum appeared to be well-suited for sponsoring such a move." The Conference also assumed upon itself the responsibility of reducing international tensions, so as to promote conditions of peace in the world.

The vehement criticism that the Conference gave on U.S. attacks in Vietnam is a clear indication of the fact that the British Government has looked more to the prestige of the Commonwealth than the friendly ties with U.S.A. But it should not be rashly taken as a bold step on the part of the British Government, because behind the curtain there is another drama being enacted. Britain owes a secret grudge to U.S.A. who has robbed her of supremacy in the West after the end of the Second World War. We can safely recall that in the event of Anglo-French attack on Egypt, the Government of U.S.A. had adopted an indifferent attitude. And now the British Government would also like to demonstrate to the world that it is not a party to the imperialist intervention of U.S.A.

2. *Rhodesia.* On the question of freedom of Rhodesia, Britain had to yield, at last under the strong pressure from the Afro-Asian nations. It, accordingly, agreed to consider promoting such a Conference, (Constitutional Conference), if Britain's discussion with the Rhodesian Government did not produce such a Conference in a reasonably speedy time. However, there is a provision in the agreement that it is for Britain to judge what that 'reasonably speedy' time was.

3. *Malaysia.* On Malaysia, the Prime Minister noted with concern the continuing tensions between Malaysia and Indonesia and acknowledged the right of the Government and the people of Malaysia to defend their sovereign independence and territorial integrity. However, the deliberations and observations on Malaysia are more of an indirect nature, and not so sharp or significant.
4. *Cyprus.* The Conference reaffirmed its full support for the U.N. Security Council Resolution on Cyprus.

EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDING

The world is in the grip of tensions, because the great danger of warlooms before all the nations of the world. Even the mighty empires are shrinking within themselves because of the uncertainty of future. In fact, "Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn" (Burns). The increase in the destructive capacity of arms has caused serious problems for the world which constantly fears that in the nuclear warfare the world would be blown off in no time. Thus all the people who have a regard for the survival of mankind, would argue that the East-West friction must end, so that by cementing them together we may be able to head towards the world unification. Gone are the days, when Rudyard Kipling had remarked : "East in East, West in West and the Twain shall never meet."

In the words of Nehru : "Atomic Energy has receded the possibilities of War", and the world has wily-nilly begun to realise that it has to choose between its self-destruction and its maddeing ambitions of political supremacy. Thus, the thaw of the cold-war seems to have melted to draw the world nearer to the point of understanding. The signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty at Moscow in 1963 is a clear indication of the fact that the Super Powers have begun to realise that there must be some form of disarmament. It is this bitter realisation which provides the world with a sigh of relief. It may sound curious to find that even China, with all her mighty designs, has begun to advocate international peace and co-operation in the Communist-sponsored Peace Conference organised in New Delhi. But one can safely draw one's conclusions : China realises that time has come, when no country can afford to live in utter isolation from other nations. 'Live and let live' has become a virtue of necessity. We have a sigh of relief that the antagonism between the Soviet Camp and the Western Bloc has also been greatly reduced. One could find Stalin arguing that it is only on the graveyard of Capitalism that palaces of Socialism can be built. But Kennedy and Khrushchev created different conditions altogether. Khruschev openly affirmed that it is possible for the two blocs to co-exist. This has obviously drawn U.S.A. nearer U.S.S.R. And in this, the world finds some rays of hope.

It is now high time that the West forgets its past and the East remembers it. The Western countries should shed aside their false sense of supremacy, and they should try to reconcile to the hard realities which have brought them on an equal footing with the backward Asia and Africa. On the other hand, the Asian countries should not forget that in spite of the exploitation of the Western Imperialist Powers, it was under their benevolence that enlightenment was obtained by the backward nations. Thus, if they feel sense of gratefulness to the Western countries, there should be no difficulty in drawing them nearer to the Western masters. But it may look to be somewhat difficult. Let us recall the break-down of the Summit Conference on Berlin crisis which was torpedoed by the unfortunate U-2 incident. Khrushchev had clearly asked U.S.A. to apologise and to give assurance of better behaviour. Unless the West is willing to allow a place of equality to the backward Asia and Africa, it cannot find the resurgent countries in a mood of co-operation. In fact, the tremendous progress made by the socialist countries has caused a shake to the backbone in the democratic West, because it has clearly demonstrated that there can be possibilities of economic growth even in the socialist set-up. The scientific progress made by Russia and the brute force of China should serve as an eye-opener to the West who should no longer live in the dreams of supremacy, which has, all along, checked them from a close understanding of the problems of the natives of Asia and Africa.

The recent trends in international politics points to the conclusion that neither U.S.A. nor U.S.S.R. is enthusiastic enough to fight a war. The wagers are high. In fact, the recent elections in U.S.A. which brought in Johnson on the forefront, clearly depict people's faith in peaceful co-existence and depreciation of the policy of apartheid as Johnson's rival Goldwater had professed. On the other hand, the show-down of Khrushchev in Kermlin should not cause any doubts in the minds of the people because the new Soviet leaders have made it pretty clear that they would continue to pursue the policy of peaceful co-existence. In fact, there are thieves in the camps of thieves. U.S.A. is mortally afraid of the rising power of France who has already shown a defying attitude to U.S.A.'s leadership of the Western world, including the leadership of N.A.T.O. To make the matters worse, the tremendous progress made by West Germany under Adenaeur is also significant of the fact that West Germany is likely to develop into a powerful nation. Britain too owes a secret jealousy to U.S.A. and she would not spare any efforts to regain her power, should an opportunity come. U.S.S.R. too is faced with her own engma. China has become a major problem for Russia : and even the fall of Khruschev has not caused the reunion of Russia and China. The provocative attitude of China has made Kermlin leaders fear dire consequences and has, thus driven them to look towards U.S.A. Before long, we shall hatch new blocs. U.S.-U.S.S.R.

accord, counter-balanced by Britain's and France's overtures to China, would make the pendulum swing in different direction.

It is fortunate to find that through the good offices of the Neutral nations, international opinion has developed into a most powerful weapon of today. No nation of the world, howsoever strong, can withstand this opinion bomb which, when exploded, is likely to cause the wreckage of the prestige of the aggressive nation. Thus, to uphold its prestige every nation is, at least outwardly, professing peace because it would not like to be branded as a war-monger. The very fact, war has become an evil name which no nation would like to be attributed to it, in it we find a great relief which leads to the conviction that no war would ever be fought thereafter. Professor Tobnbee in his Azad Memorial Lectures at New Delhi, asserted that the institution of war is dead for ever. He based his conclusions on the fact that the world has several times tried to fight war, but has found it difficult to wage a war under the present conditions of 'balance of power.'

However, let us not be over-optimistic. China is becoming a great danger to the world, encouraged by her success in Korea in which she had killed 96,000 American soldiers under the banner of United Nations Force, strengthened further by her sweeping victory in Indo-China which caused the murder of 50,000 French at the powerful hands of the impetuous China. The Western Powers have launched a campaign to contain China but China is proving to be a formidable enemy. Who will bell the cat? Perhaps, much can also be said on the other side. China has been wronged by Western Powers. What an injustice!

The country having the larger population in the world has been denied membership of the U.N.O. when the off-shore Island of China just a fringe of China has been regarded as the permanent member of the Security Council. The Western Powers are, thus, making the entire world suffer from this great crime that they have committed against mankind. It appears that there is a re-thinking in Britain, and perhaps in the forth-coming session of the General Assembly, Britain would advocate China's entry into the U.N.O. When we have tried violence, perhaps our handling with sympathy and affection may cause some better counsel in China, who may be forced by moral pressure to behave more responsibly.

In any case, the world has begun to feel that the East is rubbing its shoulders with the West. The false prejudices of the past must end and give birth to a new and a more dynamic ideology. In fact, if we see behind the screen, the Western Powers are trying to introduce Socialism through the back-door by preaching Welfare State. To a critic, it is nothing short of a totalitarian State. On the other

hand, even Soviet Russia claims 'Soviet Democracy' which amply proves that Russia is slowly and slowly shedding aside the die-hard policies of Stalin, and she is trying to be more flexible towards the democratic world. Since the West is leaning towards socialistic ideals and U.S.S.R. is trying to prove democratic ideals, we can safely deduce that before long a new mongrel ideology would be formed out of the union of the two ideologies-democracy and socialism. Then alone, the East and the West would be fastened together.

AFRO-ASIAN NATIONS STANDING COMMITTEE MEETING

The Standing Committee of the Second Afro-Asian Nations Meeting at Algiers (Algeria) was held in the first week of April. I considered the Chinese view as supported by Pakistan and Indonesia, that the list of initiative to the Summit should be on a discriminatory basis. China demanded that Malaysia and the Soviet Union should not be allowed to attend the proposed Summit Conference which is likely to be held in June at Algiers.

China raises the objection that the U.S.S.R. is not an Asian country. Geographically and historically, it is a European country (It should be borne in mind that Russia is in Asia as well as in European continent and for all intents) and purposes Russia has all along been named as the Eastern country, and not the Western country; and it has its divergent political, social and economic set-up on the basis of which it cannot be grouped along with Western nations. China does not wish that Malaysia may be recognised as a State and given a place in the Afro-Asian Meeting. India has, however, repudiated the stand that the Communist interpretation of Djakarta decision of the 22 Afro-Asian nations which had met at Djakarta in last year was unwarranted and misleading. On this China accused India of adopting obstructionist tactics in her bid to sabotage the Conference. India had repudiated that China is indulging in chauvinism and, thus, trying to impose its views on others. However, India carried the day when the majority of nations supported the Indian view; it was decided to leave the issue open for final disposal by the Foreign Ministers who would meet at Algiers before the proposed Summit Meeting in June. The proceedings of the Meeting, thus, make it clear that the principle of unanimity would not apply to the question of invitees to the Summit.

The principle of unanimity in regard to the agenda of the Conference was agreed to in the Standing Committee Meeting held at Djakarta last year. It was felt that this would prevent bilateral

disputes which might disrupt the Conference, by being raised at the Summit. The final agenda has not been drafted, but reports indicate that China is likely to make efforts to set up a body rival to the U.N.O, although most of the Afro-Asian nations seem to be determined to strengthen the U.N.O.

- (1) Establishment of a Council of Ministers' representing Foreign Ministers of States. The Council should meet at least twice a year.
- (2) Setting up a mediation, conciliation and arbitration Commission for considering the mutual disputes of member States.
- (3) Setting up specialised Commissions for economic operation, cultural inter-action, defence, scientific and technical research.

NEUTRAL NATIONS SUMMIT

The Second Summit Conference of 47 nations was held at Cairo from October 5 to 11, 1964. In the Second Summit Conference of Heads of States and Heads of Governments of 47 non-aligned nations, observers from 10 nations were also invited. It may be recalled that the First Non-aligned Nations Conference was held at Belgrade on 1st September, 1960, in which two major issue, namely, (i) Berlin Crisis (ii) Dis-armament, were on the agenda. Although no appreciable progress was made in the First Summit Conference on the issue of disarmament yet the immediate crisis on Berlin caused by Russia's ultimatum was averted, thus saving the world from a great catastrophe.

While addressing the Conference, President Nasser pointed out that vast change have come in the world since the First Conference was held. Tensions of war which then existed had relaxed, and many peoples had obtained their Freedom. He explained that non-alignment is not a policy which seeks to isolate itself from world problems. In his opinion change in the international situation did not effect non-alignment policy which, in the final analysis, was a grouping for peace based on justice. Since that aim was not yet achieved, the importance of non-alignment yet remained. He further recalled some programmes made in this regard particularly in the field of nuclear destruction and nuclear missiles carried by rockets.

President Nasser regretted that negotiations in Sino-Indian border dispute had not been possible on the basis of Colombo Proposals. However, he expressed a hope that further efforts would be made by friendly countries to promote peaceful settlement of the dispute. But on China's objection (who was not an invitee) that the Sino-Indian border dispute should not be discussed in the absence of the other party, the member countries lost their enthusiasm in support of a peaceful settlement of Sino-Indian dispute. Of course, this indicates a like-warm attitude of the friendly nations, or else it could be interpreted as a sense of fear that these nations have felt in provoking the mighty China. Accordingly, Lal Bahadur Shastri's proposal to send a mission to China to prevail upon her to stop her nuclear tests also ended in fiasco. Yet, on the whole India did succeed in creating a consciousness among the member countries, of the aggression committed by China. The very fact that in the final communique emphasis on maintaining the traditional border was laid and denunciation of force for the border solution was stressed, India's point was indirectly achieved.

"The Conference undertook an analysis of the international situation with a view to making an effective contribution to the solution of the major problems which are of concern to mankind in view of their effects on peace and security in the world." The Heads of States or Governments of participating countries expressed a great satisfaction that nearly half of the countries of the world had participated in the Second Non-aligned Conference. They, therefore, attached a great importance to the deliberations of the Conference, which will be formally placed by the member countries of the Conference before the General Assembly.

The Conference is symbolic and historic in view of the fact that it re-echoes the spirit of the 29 Afro-Asian Conference held at Bandung in 1955, wherein it was clearly stated that colonialism is dead and dead for ever. In fact, the Second Summit Conference of Neutral Nations has much more in common, in its broad aims, with the Bandung Conference than with the Belgrade Conference which dealt with the items of disarmament and Berlin Crisis. In so far as the Cairo Conference sought the immediate end of colonialism, the bitter dose to the Western Powers. In any case, the Conference signifies the unity of public opinion in condemnation of colonialism and racist persecution which have by now become all out-of-date.

Deliberations of Summit Conference

1. Use of Force

(i) *Abolition of Colonialism*

- (a) Concerted action for the liberation of countries still dependent, elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.
- (b) Non-conditional, complete and final abolition of colonialism.

(ii) *The Congo Situation*

Depreciation of the Congo situation created by the colonialist and neo-colonialist and imperialist policies.

- (a) Urging the Organisation of African Unity to spare no efforts to achieve national reconciliation in the Congo.
- (b) Appeal to the Congolese Government and all combatants to cease hostilities.
- (c) Urging all foreign Powers to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.
- (d) Urging the Ad-hoc Commission of the O.A.U.
- (e) Calling upon the Government of Democratic Republic of the Congo to discontinue the recruitment of mercenaries and to expel them forthwith.

(iii) *Portuguese Colonies*

- (a) Urging the participating countries to offer all necessary support—financial and military—to freedom-fighters in the territories under Portuguese Colonial Rule.
- (b) Supporting the Revolutionary Government in Angola in exile and nationalist movements struggling for the Independence of Portuguese colonies.
- (c) Breaking off diplomatic and consular relations with the Government of Portugal and taking effective measures to sever all trade and economic ties with that country.

(iv) *Racial Discrimination in Southern Rhodesia*

- (a) Urging all the participating States not to recognise the Independence of Southern Rhodesia, if proclaimed under the rule of racist minority and urging them to give support to African Nationalist Government in exile.
- (b) Urging Britain to convene immediately the Constitutional Conference to prepare a new Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. It may be based on the, 'one-man, one vote' principle.

(v) *Self-determination of South-West Africa*

- (a) Supporting the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to self-determination and independence.
- (b) Condemning the Government of the Union of South Africa for its persistent refusal to implement the Resolutions of the United Nations.

(iv) *Freedom of Somaliland*

Urging the French Government to enable French Somaliland to become Free and Independent.

(vii) *Condemnation of Imperialist Policy in the middle East*

- (a) Supporting the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their home-land and their inalienable right to self-determination.
- (b) Supporting the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle for liberation from colonialism and racism.

(viii) *Unrestricted sovereignty in Cyprus*

- (a) Supporting the unrestricted sovereignty and Independence of Cyprus and enabling her people to determine freely the country's political future on the basis of principle of self-determination.
- (b) Elimination of foreign bases in Cyprus.

2. Complete Disarmament

The participating countries declared their readiness to abstain from manufacturing, acquiring or experimenting on nuclear weapons and invited all the countries of the world to give a similar undertaking and close their ports and aerodromes to any ships and planes used by the Powers for dispositioning nuclear weapons. The Conference expressed a hope to create nuclearised zones in Africa, Latin-America, parts of Europe, and in the oceans of the world, by agreement of all States in such areas or bordering the ocean.

3. Abolition of Bases

- (i) Urging the dismantling of Guantanamo base in Cuba.
- (ii) Warning Great Powers against the establishment of new bases in the Indian Ocean, likely to develop into a threat to peace, security and independence of the region.

4. Peaceful Co-existence

The Conference, while accepting the Indian Proposal for peaceful co-existence between States, declared that the peaceful co-existence between States with different social and political system is possible and necessary. (It rejected the Indonesian Proposal which expressed that as long as the discrimination between the wealthy and the poor, the strong and the weaker, existed, peaceful co-existence between different countries of the world is not possible).

An appeal was made to the States to abstain from use of threat of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of other States. The Conference recommended that the United Nations guarantee the territorial integrity of different States, and supported Indian Proposal that the traditional boundary line between different States would be made to force to alter those traditional boundaries.

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The Communist-sponsored World Conference for peace and International Co-operation was held in New Delhi on November 15, 1964 to November 18, 1964. Delegates from 44 countries attended the Conference. Presiding over the inaugural session, Mr. Krishna Menon said "The Indian people would keep up their promise made over 15 years ago that under no circumstances, we will use nuclear power for destructive purpose." He pleaded for complete disarmament to bring about world peace. Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said "May your efforts bring in fulfilment of the noble cause of peace which was so dear to his (Nehru's) heart.

The Japanese delegate, Mr. Banji Aoki, severely criticised China for having exploded an atom bomb, despite the resolutions passed by World Peace Conference in Japan last August, in which China was advised against such an action. He ridiculed the ideal boast of China who claimed herself to be the first Asian Power to own the atom bomb. He described the Chinese nuclear explosion in Sinkiang, the proposed French H-Bomb in the South Pacific and the stationing of American nuclear submarines in the Pacific Ocean as the three factors which disturbed the peace of the Pacific Ocean. The Chinese explosion of the nuclear bomb was criticised also by Rev. James Endicott of the World Council of Peace, in a message from Prof. J.D. Bernal, President of the Organisation. The delegate from Ceylon, Rev. U. Saranankara, hailed the decision of the Indian Government not to make an atom bomb. He expressed satisfaction that India shared the policy of his Government in support of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence. The U.A.R. representative referred to the struggle for national liberation and national sovereignty as the mighty force for the realisation of peace and disarmament. The delegate from Ghana, F. E. Boaten, referred to the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa and the attempt of the minority to rule Southern Rhodesia, as threats to world peace.

I. African Colonies

The Conference endorsed the application of principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea.

2. Dominican Republic

The Conference took note of the situation which disturbed the Dominican Republic for sometime, and it expressed its hope that peace would be restored in the country.

3. British Colonies

The Conference expressed a hope that many of Britain's remaining dependent territories, including Basutoland, Bechuanaland, British Guiana, Swaziland, South African Federation, East Caribbean territories, will achieve independence in the next three years.

4. Commonwealth Secretariat

The proposed Commonwealth Secretariat should examine the possibility of arranging for the results of research to be shared more widely among the Commonwealth countries. The Secretariat should call a meeting of Government officials to prepare for an early meeting of the Commonwealth Trade Ministers. The Commonwealth Air-Transport Council should consider means of promoting a closer understanding of the basic civil air-transport requirements of the member countries.

5. Disarmament

The most striking achievement of the Conference is that it has sought to associate China with the discussions on disarmament instead of criticising China for her isolationist policy. Obviously, the Conference did not take a serious notice of the two explosions of nuclear weapons by China.

The deliberations of the Commonwealth Conference reflect the changing in character in the composition of the organisation.

Although economic affairs also gained sufficient attention, yet the most effective thing is the growing inter-Commonwealth co-operation in trade and economic development. It should not be forgotten that earlier the question of U.K.'s entry into the E.C.M. had created doubts among the Commonwealth nations and many countries including India, had made it clear to the British Government that in the absence of the economic privileges the Commonwealth countries may no longer remain interested in the organisation thus rendered useless. Perhaps, the British Government has tried to create a soft corner for the loss of prestige over her attempted entry into the E.C.M. in which 'Love's Labours Lost'.

6. Apartheid

The Conference reaffirmed its condemnation of the policy of apartheid practised by the Government of the Republic of South

Africa. It called upon South Africa to bring an end to this practice. It may be remembered that the British Government had earlier shown a bold countenance to give an outright rebuff on South African Government's apartheid policy which made the later to withdraw from the Commonwealth. But if we see the situation by going deep into it, the reality will stare into our eyes that although the Western Powers have declared economic sanctions against the South African Government, yet no Western Government had ever the courage to do so, since Union of South Africa is very fortunately placed in her economic and trade position, and cut off in the trade would be more of detriment to other States than the South Africa.

I.L.O. Meet

A meeting was held of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva.

Deliberations

1. Increased I.L.O. effort should be made in the field of wages and incomes policies, including a study of wages and incomes in African countries.
2. The I.L.O. should charge the African Advisory Board with responsibility for formulation of I.L.O. programme in Africa.
3. France called for a thorough revision of the programme and the structure of the I.L.O., as she demanded a revision in the list of the new interational context. However, it calls itself an association working for social justice.

Mr. Abid Ali, Vice-President of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, pointed out that I.L.O. could not feel secure, unless solution were found to be world problems of the widening gap between rich and poor nations, disarmament, South Africa's policy of apartheid and colonialism in different parts of the world. It may be recalled the I.L.O. was formed in 1919 as a specialised agency of the League of Nations. In fact, it is the only surviving child of the League of Nations : which is now a Specialised Agency of the United Nation with its Headquarters at Geneva. The distinguished feature of this Organisation is that on it are represented, the representatives of Government, the capitalists and the labour of the member countries. It is this tripartite character of the Organisation which had led to its survival. The conventions of the I.L.O. are however, not legally binding on the member States. They are required to be ratified by the respective Government.

COMMONWEALTH GROUP AT U.N.O.

The Labour Government of Britain is endeavouring to set up a Political Group of the Commonwealth Countries in the United Nations. It proposes to create an informal group which may be similar to the Afro-Asian group with the differences that the Commonwealth Group will be non-racial and non-determines the Commonwealth group. As such, it is likely to work more potentially that a pure racial regional or ideological group of nations which have emerged in the United Nations. It may be remembered that there are 20 Sovereign members of the Commonwealth, whose combined population would represent a quarter of the human race.

The British Government believes that the process of de-colonialisation of the old Empire which is more or less complete by now provides a scope for co-operation between Britain and her ex-colonies. Obviously, this a desparate attempt being made by the British Government for revival of Britain as a world power. Britain has still got some chances of regaining her lost power and influence in the world affairs, as she is already engaged in peace-keeping role. It may be remembered that Britain's world fame has been obscured by the rising power of U.S.A. and of France. Moreover, her weak economy has given her a great set-back. It will not be wrong to say that the economic crisis that Britain is passing through is one of the potent reasons which has compelled Britain to adopt de-colonialisation as a matter of general policy.

BRITAIN'S DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

The British Government has put forth three-tier programme for promoting East-West disarmament, including the agreement to spread the nuclear weapons. These proposals are short-term preliminary partial disarmament objectives. The British Government wishes and supports the general and complete disarmament, but under effective international inspector, supervision and control.

- (i) In the light of new and scientific developments to explore whether the nuclear partial Test Ban Treaty signed at Moscow in August 1963 can be extended to cover under-

ground tests as well. (The present Treaty bans tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under-water to prevent radioactive contamination.)

- (ii) The British Government feels that there must be some checks provided to ensure collective international safeguards to non-nuclear Powers against nuclear threats or air-attacks.
- (iii) A Package Deal containing measures extracted from the first phase of the rival Western and Soviet three-stage plans for general and complete disarmament. It could not include President Johnson's proposal for a freeze of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, possibly combined with destruction of some existing bombers and missiles on the both Western and on Communist sides.

W.F.U.N.A.'S DELIBERATIONS

At its 19th Session held at New Delhi, the World Federation of U.N. Associations passed a resolution to make an appeal to Indonesia not to withdraw from the United Nations. The resolution was tabled by India and was ultimately adopted, with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia abstaining. The Indian move got a great support from the U.S. delegation, although the U.S. representative maintained that by withdrawing from the U.N. no nation could escape from its international obligations. He pointed out that under the U.N. Charter no member-nation could withdraw from it.

The Political Commission unanimously adopted a resolution calling upon all nations to sign the Moscow Test Ban Treaty and suggested that the scope of the Treaty should be extended to include underground tests also in an acceptable system of verification. It regretted that the Geneva talks on disarmament made very slow progress. It said that eminent persons should wait on the 18-nation Disarmament Commission at Geneva to explain the W.F.U.N.A. resolution. The Commission adopted a resolution asking the U.N. to convene a Disarmament Conference of all nations as a resolution on the crisis over the payment of dues for the U.N. Peace-keeping Operations, the Commission said a solution should be found in conformity with the purpose and principles of the U.N. Charter and asked the U.N.O. to put into effect the machinery for collective security, as envisaged under the Charter of the U.N.O.

U.N. CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL EXECUTIONS

Background of the Case

Government of Union of South African has been practising the policy of persecution of the coloured people in spite of the fact that the situation in the world has greatly changed and that the conscience of the world is awakened to demand change in the out-dated policy of apartheid. Ever since the time of Dr. Malan's regime, the 'Notorious Area Act' had been in operation in the State, which calls upon the coloured people to live in isolated colonies. They are not permitted to travel in the same buses, nor are they allowed entry into public places used by the whites. U.N.O. had several times condemned the Government of South Africa, but it has always openly defied the world opinion. Even the economic boycott, as decided upon by the U.N.O., could not serve much purpose for the obvious reason that the member countries of the U.N.O. do not support U.N. mandate in spirit for their own personal motives. They feel it an economic disadvantage to themselves off from the South African market. Whatever might be the economic pressure imposed on South Africa, there is one point quite certain that the economy of South Africa is so stable that it is able to bear the economic isolation, should at all the boycott comes.

The Commonwealth also condemned the persecution practised by the Government of Union of South Africa with the result that the Government of South Africa opted to withdraw. It appears that the world opinion or the economic pressure of Afro-Asian nations has not been able to move South Africa at all. The problem lies deeper. The white minority in the Union of South Africa fears that the coloured people, who are in majority, may not one day come up to hold the Government and, thus, the special privileges enjoyed by them would be all denied. Moreover, they know that with the present rate of birth before long the gap between the population of the coloured people and the whites is likely to become bigger, which would naturally oust the whites from the key-positions that they now occupy.

The U.N. 11-Member Special Committee on South African Apartheid condemned on November 6. South Africa's brutal act of executing three African nationalist leaders. The United Nations appealed to all nations to assert their economic pressures on the Union of South Africa so as to compel her policy of racial discrimination.

Vuyisil Minei, Wilson Kahayinga, Zinakile Mkaba were executed by the Government of Union of South Africa. They were leaders of the out-lawed African Nationalists Congress, who were condemned in March 1964 in a controversial homicidal case. The Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee, Achkar Manof of Guinea deprecated the obstinacy of the Government of South Africa who defied the appeals of the Committee, Secretary General U Thant, U.A.R. President Nasser on behalf of the Cairo Non-aligned Conference, and other outstanding international figures. In his opinion, the South African Government has committed a great crime and issued a challenge to the conscience of the world. The execution of the Negro leaders brought expression of shock from the Governments and the peoples of different countries of the world.

APARTHEID IN U.S.A.

It is most unfortunate that in U.S.A., which claims herself to be the leading democracy in the world, there are manifestations of racial discrimination. Once again there is a division between the South and North. The Southern States of U.S.A., notorious among them being Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, are waging war on the coloured people. It may be recalled that the Central Government is finding it a problem to control the dissidents. It may be remembered that there is 'double citizenship' in the U.S. Constitution and that the State autonomy in U.S.A. is much more than we find in India. Abraham Lincoln had lost his life at the hands of a fanatic as the former wanted to root out of the course of slavery.

The main cause for revival of racial discrimination, lies in the revival of Ku Klux Klan (Secret Organisation) which was formed earlier to terrorise the negro community so that they may not press forward their demand for freedom. A contrast can be drawn with O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation) functioning in Algeria and France. Recently, riots have assumed serious proportions, when the assaults were committed by the whites followed by the counter-assaults in some of the places by coloured people. Shooting took place as a violent postscript to the massive 'Civil right' march by the coloured people as the authorities carried away thousands of the marchers in planes and buses from Alabama to their own States. The Nobel Prize winner King Luther, has also been subjected to torture, and in certain Southern States the whites, in their fanaticism, have set on fire the buses, etc. Dr. Martin Luther King organised a 50-mile march from Selma to Montgomery. In Montgomery, the

capital of Alabama, Ku Klux Klan, took out a motor-cade of 50 cars and in Birmingham four powerful home-made bombs using about 2,000 slakes of dynamite were discovered in Negro neighbourhood. The Federal Government had mobilised about 4,000 Guardsmen Military Police ; and Secret service men to protect the marchers. The Jim Crow Laws, as operate in some of Southern States, deprive the coloured people of their normal right of citizenship.

WHITE COLOUR FEVER

Foul news are abroad ! The Ku Klux Klan has begun to raise its mighty head to devour the coloured people in Britain too, when the monster is already out in the Alabama, Mississippi and Texas States of (Southern) U.S.A. The recent hooliganism in Leamington is a said story. It indicates that the atrocious activities of the Ku Klux Klan raging in the industrial area of Midland have spread over to other areas too. It is the culmination of repeated tortures, committed on Indian and other coloured people in London.

What a mockery of democracy and jugglery of fundamental human rights, the Western Powers are out to make in the world ! The British nation claims itself to be the most civilised, and the U.S.A. poses herself to be the fore-runner of liberty, equality and fraternity.

What a tomfoolery ! The war of racial discrimination being waged in U.S.A. and U.K. against the coloureds finds its counter-part in France, where the O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation) of Algeria has started causing a feverish activity in the Metropolitan France. Portugal is another notorious imperial power whose atrocities in Angola bear testimony to her malicious policies. It appears that the imperialists have not yet learnt a lesson from the time and tide. Perhaps they are still living in the hope of supremacy. The warning which echoed in 1955 at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian and African nations representing three-fourth population of the world that the "Bandung Conference is a challenge of the East to the West that colonialism is dead for ever" should serve as an eye-opener. In fact, as long as the West is not prepared to forget the dreams of its supremacy of the past and to accept an equal position with the resurgent Asian and African nations, there cannot be peace and amity in the world. It is often complained that the Asians and the Africans are basically anti-West. But the Western Powers seem to be forgetting altogether that it is they who are causing bad blood by adopting and preaching the centuries-old creed of racial discrimination.

The Ku Klux Klan is an organisation whose history can be traced from the time of Civil War in America, when the organisation was set up to terrorise the coloured people so that they might not press forth their demands for civil liberties and equalities. The Secret Army Organisation which functioned in Algeria is the wickedly-conceived child of the same monster K.K.K. It supported the French settlers in Algeria who opposed the Independence of that country, as they feared to lose the privilege of nine votes of a white against a single vote of the coloured people. Soon this infection, spread into Metropolitan France, and immediately thereafter its manifestations were found in the revival of Ku Klux Klan in the Southern States of the U.S.A.

It may be recalled that Abraham Lincoln, as a pioneer of 'emancipation of man' had laid down his life for the cause of the emancipation of the slaves : and John Kennedy had also to suffer the similar fate, when he emerged as the protagonist of 'equality' and 'liberty'. This clearly reveals that racial discrimination is deeply studded in the Western Powers who still live in the dream of supremacy. We have yet not forgotten the high-brow attitude of the Nazi Germany under Hitler who believed that in the 'survival of the fittest' the Germans, being from the Nordic blood, were the foremost who enjoyed the right to rule over the entire mankind. Perhaps, the British Government and the people and, no less, the U.S. Government and the U.S. people, have forgotten how they had ridiculed Nazi idea of racial supremacy. Shall we, by the same standard, say that these Nazi, or Fascist, tendencies in the so-called advanced countries of the world are in indication of Hitlerian times. Fie on the British Government and, no less, on the U.S. Government who have (although not connived at the crime) adopted an oscillating attitude !

The British Government had categorically condemned Dr. Malan's Notorious Areas Act in South Africa. It was the outright condemnation that the Union of South Africa had received at the hands of Britain in particular that compelled the former to withdraw from the Commonwealth. Now the British Government will not be able to raise its neck and demonstrate to the world that the British nation is the advocate of civil liberties. For the long the world has been hearing "East is East, West is West and the Twain shall never meet." However, for sometime past we heaved a sigh of relief that the Kipling Era being over, the West is drawing near to rub its shoulders with the East in convalescence. But it appears, the Western nations have not yet seen the rays of truth.

The explanation of the British Government or that of the U.S. Government, and no less their people that they are quite friendly towards India and the other coloured people and that it is some misguided people in certain States who have indulged in acts of ruffianism, can be easily brushed aside as a crooked eye-wash. When

the public opinion in these countries is becoming so hostile towards the coloured people, the situation is likely to become very explosive. Obviously then we are left with no choice except to say in the words of Mr. Jagmohan Joshi, General Secretary of the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain that "we are not afraid even of physical violence : if it is used against us, we will hit back and defend our rights."

The British Government should see the warning on the walls of time that if the whites behave as they had done in Navasaland, they would be meted out the same attitude as they had experienced at the hands of the Africans. If it comes to the spirit of vendetta, the East will be compelled to cry 'blood for blood'—if the Government fails in its responsibility to defend the rights of Indians in other countries, at least the masses will not tolerate their brethren being smothered and tortured, in other countries of the world. We value friendship of the British Government and, no less, of the U.S. Government and we are grateful to the British people and the American for all their great services rendered to us in meeting the menace at the hands of China. Yet, it does not mean that we shall tolerate the third degree method, being used on the Indians abroad. We are a self-respecting nation. We, therefore, invoke the U.N. Charter to condemn the British U.S. and the France Governments in their failure to check the outrageous assaults on the coloured people.

RACE RIOTS IN LOS ANGELS

Race riots have shown their ugly head in the so-called civilised and the most advanced country of the world, U.S.A. In Los Angels (California) in U.S.A. the race riots assumed a very serious colouring resulting in 17 lives lost, besides 300 injured. This necessitated calling in the troops of national guardsmen to control the lawless mobs. Rioting and violence disturbed the city for four days together. The authorities were compelled to declare a state of insurrection (a little short of martial law). The Los Angels is predominantly an Negro district in which the Ku Klux Klan has organised outrageous assaults. Although the Government has taken suitable action to come timely to the rescue of the Negroes in Los Angels, yet it clearly indicates that the Government has not been in a position to comb out slavery even centuries after the death of Abraham Lincoln.

It is shameful that U.S.A., who had been most vocal in condemning apartheid of South Africa, and Portugal, has not found it

possible to control the situation within its own country. It is an irony of fate that even the former U.S. President Jhon Kennedy had to lose his life at the hands of a fanatic from Texas. For long, the Southern States of U.S.A. have been disturbed by racial riots and the States of Alabama, Mississippi-Missouri and Texas have been torn by these riots. In fact the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan (A Secret Terrorist Organisation) has created the present dangerous situation. The situation in Europe is no better. In the capital city of London race riots could not be controlled by the British Government which claims itself to be a great advocate of democracy. In France, the O.A.S. (Secret Army Organisation) is causing terrorist activities and is responsible for persecution of the coloured people. Nazi Germany under Hitler also believed in the racial supremacy of the Germans which forced the entire world into war. Portugal is already notorious for its policies of apartheid.

This is a challenge to the East : and it is a high time that Afro-Asian nations outrightly condemn it. Else, the situation is likely to become exclusive in counter-measures which might be adopted by Negroes in the foreign colonies in Africa. The Western Powers and Britain in particular, should not forget the horrible scene of 1959.

MOVEMENT OF ARAB UNITY

Over the stormy post-war years Arab unity has been one of those controversial issues which have been aroused passions and stirred up bitter political debate in the Middle East.

The idea of Arab unity is not a new one. It was an expression of the Arab desire to get rid of imperialist oppression and to win national progress. The slogan of reuniting the Arabs in a single State was the reaction first to the Turkish, and later to the British and French yoke, which had led to the division of the Arab people.

At first, the true content and aims of Arab unity were not at all clear to the people at large, and this enabled the imperialist powers and reactionary Arab forces to cash in on the Arab unity slogan.

The imperialist powers have always resisted the growth of Arab unity on the basis of the struggle for national liberation and social and economic progress. On the other hand, they have tried to make use of Arab unity slogan to cover up their policy designed to create an alliance of reactionary Arab rulers closely bound up with the imperialists.

In the early post-war years, when the monarchist and feudal system dominated nearly the whole of the Arab East, the imperialist powers stirred up conflicts among the various monarchist groups and set up diverse diplomatic combinations under the Arab unity slogan. They tried to make use of the plans for setting up a Greater Syria and Union of the Fertile Crescent, and to turn the Arab League into an appendage of the imperialist and political machine.

The Western powers are still opposed to Arab unity. Their whole policy is designed to hinder the establishment and strengthening of such unity as would promote the social and economic emancipation of the Arab East. Imperialism is on the look-out for supporters among the reactionary forces, which are trying to use the idea of Arab unity against revolutionary and democratic movement of the peoples, and as a justification of the urge to dominate the Arab world on the part of various groups of the Arab big bourgeoisie.

This is a policy clashing with the interests of the working class, the peasants, the urban petty bourgeois and a considerable part of the middle bourgeois. Such a policy, far from building up Arab solidarity and intensifying the anti-imperialist struggle, weakens the Arab States in face of imperialism by sowing strife among them, and jeopardises their national and democratic gains.

The efforts to unite the Arab countries without regard for the interests of the peoples on an anti-democratic basis have always failed, and this shows that the problem of Arab unity, especially in present conditions, cannot be separated from the struggle for democracy and basic social reforms. It is now a problem of uniting the Arab countries on the basis of their common struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the working people's interests, the extension of democracy and transition to a non-capitalist way of development. Accordingly, it includes another problem, that of the Arab people's alliance with the world revolutionary forces. That is just how the masses of Arabs regard it.

Arab patriots realise that in recent years even the most reactionary regimes and forces in the Arab East have had to go through the motions of following the countries that have adopted the firmest anti-imperialist attitudes and carried out progressive social and economic reforms. But in an exclusive Arab world, the reactionaries may well renew their offensive against the revolutionary democratic forces, which would be weakened because of isolation from their allies. The progressive outlook developing among the Arab peoples would suffer greatly from such a blow, and this would greatly hamper the democratic transformation of the Arab countries and markedly slow down their transition to the non-capitalist path.

Anti-Imperialist Tendencies

The struggle between the two tendencies within the Arab unity movement has given very acute. It is still in progress and is marked by a steady strengthening of the anti-imperialist and democratic tendency.

This anti-imperialist and democratic tendency, which arose in countries making most headway towards political and economic independence, has because of Arab solidarity, been having a strong influence on all other countries of the Arab East. The Arab liberation struggle and solidarity are having a strong impact on the present international situation in the Middle East and the entire course of the world national liberation revolution.

These positive results have been evident also in the military-strategic sphere. The Arab countries objected to the creation of a military bloc in the Middle East ; and when it was set up it proved to the weakest of all the imperialist military blocks ; initially three Middle East countries were involved in it, and only two after the Iraqi Revolution. The bold Arab stand against imperialist military blocks made the United States wary of joining C.E.N.T.O. (the former Baghdad Pact), although it heads the other two imperialist military blocks, N.A.T.O. and S.E.A.T.O.

The Arab struggle has led to the removal of British military bases from the United Arab Republic and Iraq, and this has deprived imperialism of key military-strategic bridge-heads. Its military positions in the Persian Gulf Area have been weakened, and the vital military-strategic Suez-Red-Sea-Aden line broken. After the Iraqi Revolution, imperialist military bases were removed from heart of the Arab world and pushed out to the periphery, where they are now threatened by emancipatory anti-imperialist forces. The Arab peoples are demanding the dismantling of all foreign military bases on Arab territory and in Cyprus ; this demand was made by President Nasser early in 1964 and supported by other Arab countries.

Whenever a serious crisis has broken out in the Middle East. The Arab countries have invariably protested against the imperialist policy of intervention and aggression. That was the case when Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt fought for their National liberation, in the uneasy days of the Suez events in 1956, the U.S. and British intervention in the Arab East in 1958, and during the repeated attempts on the part of the imperialists to meddle in Syria's affairs.

Anti-imperialist tendencies have also been growing stronger within the Arab League and gaining the upper hand over the

influence of the colonialist and reactionary forces and bellicose anti-communism. The League supported the proposals to resist Israeli threats (for instance, by an economic boycott) and has come out in defence of the people of Yemen, Oman and Aden against British colonialism. Its September, 1963 decisions called upon all members to support Yemen's legitimate rights, and demanded that support for the overthrown Imam Al-Badr be stopped and normal relations between Saudi Arabia and Yemeni Arab Republic restored.

The Arab countries gave Algeria effective support in her struggle for independence; they supplied the Algerian insurgents with weapons and helped the Provisional Government, which was represented in the Arab League.

The Arab countries' anti-colonial stand is not confined to Arab East affairs: they also come out in defence of all other nations fighting for their liberation. The desire to ban nuclear weapons, and active support of plans for general and complete disarmament and the principles of peaceful co-existence are becoming typical features of Arab foreign policies.

The Soviet proposals for peaceful settlement of territorial and border issues were highly appreciated in the U.A.R., Iraq, Jordan, Oman, and other countries. In reply messages, the policy of the aggressive Zionist circles Israel, and declared their support for the people in the Southern part of the Arabian Peninsula fighting British colonial domination.

The Arab unity movement does not, of course, develop only in the political plane. The character of the external economic ties and of co-operation in this sphere matters as much.

The late 1950 is witnessed an extensive establishment of mixed banks, industrial, transport and agricultural companies, foreign trade and insurance agencies, and air and shipping companies. However, the struggle among the Arab bourgeois was one of the reasons why many agreements on economic integration were unviable.

On the other hand, the anti-imperialist aspect grew more evident in Arab economic co-operation. Thus, the Arab countries resisted the imperialist plans to turn the Baghdad block into a regional economic organisation and a nucleus of economic ties among the Middle Eastern countries. They also took a negative attitude to the plans for the European Common Market, and the Arab League, countered by adopting a decision to set up an Arab Common Market.

All Arab initiatives in working out a common economic policy were invariably and most closely tied in with their efforts to conduct a co-ordinated oil policy and establish a front of oil countries to resist

the International Petroleum Cartel. This was a natural development, because petroleum is the chief Arab industry and the main item in the Arab's national income.

The League's Economic Council and Political Committee and Arab Oil Conferences held in 1959, 1960 and 1963 adopted decisions demanding more remunerative terms for oil concessions. At the same time, the task was set to work out and implement an independent Arab oil policy through the establishment of national oil companies, the construction of a tanker fleet and pipe-lines operated and controlled by the Arabs themselves, and co-operation in the maintenance of definite price levels. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries set up in September, 1960 was joined by Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and Libya. The Arab countries want to keep the monopolies from changing oil prices without their consent, for price cuts are a favourable monopoly trick to bring pressure on the Arabs and undermine their financial position.

The League's Economic Council met in Cairo in 1957 to work out a draft agreement on Arab economic unity, which was a sort of response to the Eisenhower Doctrine's assumption that the Arab and other Middle Eastern Countries could prosper only if they were closely allied with the United States and received U.S. 'aid'. The agreement provided for the establishment of an Arab Common Market, co-ordination of economic development plans and joint policies in respect of other countries and economic groupings. Four draft annexes provided for the setting up of an Arab financial organisation, Arab tanker company, airlines and a shipping company.

The Cairo Conference of Arab countries early last year (1964) brought these decisions closer to implementation. By the beginning of April, 1964, the agreement on Arab economic unity had been ratified by the U.A.R., Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Kuwait and enforced. An Arab Council for economic unity, consisting of the parties to the agreement, was accordingly set up on June 3.

FRESH VIEW OF ARAB UNITY

The deep-going changes in social relations in the Arab countries have determined the considerable shifts in their foreign policy, the swing of the U.A.R. and Algeria to the non-capitalist path being the chief factor. The creation in these countries of objective conditions for a transition to the non-capitalist path was led to an evolution of views on Arab unity. Last May, President Nasser had declared that the society of Arab Unity would be set up only on the basis of freedom and socialism.

The attitude of the U.A.R. is of tremendous importance, because Egypt, and later the U.A.R., has always been the chief force in the Arab Unity Movement. It was the centre of gravitation for Arab patriots, when it was in the van of the national liberation struggle in the Arab East, and it has an even stronger attraction now that it is taking the non-capitalist path.

The anti-imperialist democratic tendencies in the Arab unity movement have drawn further strength from the Revolution in the Yemen and the offensive launched against the imperialist monopolies and Big Business in the Iraqi Republic. Since the advent to power of Aref Government, Iraq has been drawing closer to the U.A.R. Following the Cairo Conference, the U.A.R. and Iraq signed their union agreement, and the U.A.R. and the Yemeni Arab Republic their co-ordination agreement. A Joint Presidential Council was set up recently up the U.A.R. and Iraq.

At present the revolutionary democratic forces and trends in Iraq stand to gain from the rapprochement with the U.A.R. which has entered a new stage of the liberation movement and is waging a struggle for economic emancipation and is trying to escape from the capitalist world system. The rapprochement has also allowed the Iraqi leaders to make a study of the achievements of the U.A.R. and to realise the part its co-operation with the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, has had to play in its advancement. The question of closer friendly ties between Iraq and the Socialist countries put in cold storage during the Right-wing Baathist dictatorship--is now being reconsidered.

The Cairo and Alexandria Conferences, held in January and September, 1964, showed that the Arab countries had made a great step forward towards a correct appraisal of the international situation and greater consistency in the pursuit of a policy meeting the interests of

their peoples, and those of peace and democracy. This was demonstrated in their approach to the key political issues, such as the fight against colonialism and imperialism, peaceful co-existence, peace and disarmament. The Arab Unity Movement was not sealed off within a narrow nationalistic framework, something that would have done the Arabs a great deal of harm. The alliance between the Arab national liberation revolution and the Socialist countries has been growing stronger from year to year.

Marxists-Leninists look at the problem of Arab Unity in the light of the current tasks faced by all emancipatory and revolutionary forces of the world. They have welcomed the beginning of a new stage in which the movement for the unity of the Arab working people is developing in struggle against the exploiters, for freedom and independence, for a better life, for their rights and an alliance of the Arab peoples with all the other peoples and revolutionary forces opposing imperialism and colonialism and the ugly system of political and economic inequality and oppression.

The successful social and economic reforms in Algeria, the U.A.R. and Yemen and the Arab countries' co-operation with the Socialist world help to strengthen the anti-imperialist and capitalist tendencies within inter-Arab economic policy. It is significant that the economic agencies of the Arab League have been openly speaking of the State regulation of production and economic planning.

But there are also forces working in the opposite direction.

The foreign monopolies and the Arab Big Bourgeois still retain sizeable position in the economy of many countries of the Arab East. The imperialist monopolies have also shown an interest in inter-Arab economic and financial organisations, with an eye to using them as a convenient channel to establish and maintain their ties with the Arab Big Bourgeois 'on a new basis.'

The imperialists have lost much of the opportunity for 'business partnership' due to the marked weakening of the positions of the bourgeois in the U.A.R., for it was the Egyptian big bourgeois which had tried hardest to conduct such a policy and had the closest ties with international finance capital.

Which way will political and economic co-operation between the Arab countries tend to develop? That is a question of some importance, not only for the prospects in the Arab East: it may well have a strong influence on the unity of Africa. There are very considerable political contracts between the Arab East and the African countries (quite apart from the fact that the U.A.R. Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Sudan are members, both of the Arab League and the Organisation of African Unity).

Since the early 1960s, Arab economic organisations have been making serious attempts to establish co-operation, with African industrial and commercial circles. The Ninth Session of the League's Economic Council adopted early last year decisions to set up an Arab Trading Company and an Arab Construction Company to operate in African countries, and an Arab Financial Fund and Technical Bureau, which are to handle technical aid to African countries. Their stock will be sold to Arab governments, Arab citizens and Arab residents in Africa.

It is extremely important that all these vital decisions should promote the development of economic contacts among the Arabs themselves and between the Arab and African countries on a State basis, and that they should not run counter to the deepening of social and democratic reforms in the Arab and African countries, and their tendency to take the non-capitalist path and strengthen their alliance with the Socialist countries and all the liberation forces of the world.

It has become evident in the last few years that the solution of such problems as the economic developments, the shaping and implementation of an oil policy in line with the interests of the Arab countries, are connected with the problem of creation of conditions ruling out discrimination and exploitation of these countries. This problem, however, cannot be solved without the broad support of the Socialist countries for the young States of Asia and Africa, or their alliance with the international working class.

U.A.R.-IRAQ JOINT POLITICAL COMMAND

U.A.R. and Iraq have formed a Joint Political Command of 25 members which will be responsible for bringing about constitutional unity between the two countries within a period of two years. The political command will function under the joint chairmanship of the Presidents of the two countries.

This is a stepping-stone towards the constitutional and political unification of the two countries, and till such time as the complete unification takes place the joint command will supervise the foreign policy in respect of U.A.R. and Iraq. The command will also control defence activities, economic planning and internal matters of political nature within the two countries. This step has been taken in view of Iraq's eagerness for integration with U.A.R., which was

decided upon about two months ago. It may, however, be recalled that U.A.R.'s integration with Syria had not been a pleasing experience. In any case, the present Political Command will promote, at least, emotional integration which can be considered as a first step towards the political unity. It will be relevant to remember that both Yemen and Iraq have now sought close integration with U.A.R., not only with the aim to promote Iraq and U.A.R. unity, but more from the point of view of seeking moral and material assistance from the U.A.R. Even Algeria seeks the political nearness with U.A.R., but geographically it is inclined towards Tunisia, Libya and Morocco which from the 'Arab Maghreb' with their own model of 'Arab Unity.' In any case, one thing is evident that the movement of 'Arab Unity' has gained support in the Middle East, and before long the dream of 'Arab Maghreb' with their own model of 'Arab Unity'. In any case, one thing is evident that the movement of 'Arab Unity' has gained support in the Middle East, and before long the dream of 'Arab Unity' would become a reality. It is also an admitted fact that Nasser is virtually controlling the political atmosphere in the Middle East, and all other nations in the Middle East are constantly seeking his moral, military and political support.

FIRST WORLD WAR

Causes of the First World War

There were two storm centres whence war might break loose over the world—the Balkans and Morocco. In 1911 a second Moroccan crisis arose out of the Algeciras Settlement of 1906. The dispute was known as 'Agadir', after the Moroccan port to which the Germans sent a warship. After several weeks of danger, during which Britain again supported France, the affair was settled by compromise : France secured the recognition of the rights she claimed in Morocco by ceding some Colonial territory elsewhere to the Germans.

The Agadir Settlement of the Moroccan question removed the last direct cause of dispute as between France and Germany themselves. But their allies might yet fall out and drag them into war. For there remained the Balkans, and in the Balkan question was involved the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Empire : its rule was extended in Boانيا over Yugoslavs, and the free Yugoslavs in Serbia, therefore, desired the break-up of the Empire of the Hapsburgs, in order to unite their nationals under their flag. The hostility between Vienna and Belgrade was intense. And Germany thought herself obliged on every occasion to support her ally Austria-Hungary, and Russia to support the Slav interest in the Balkans.

Crisis after crisis arose in this region, each time nearly leading to a world war. The expulsion of the Turks from Macedonia and Thrace by the armies of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria was long overdue and in itself desirable, but it greatly increased the tension between Austria-Hungary and her southern neighbours. For Serbia, after her victory over the Turks, emerged as a military to fence all Yugoslavs still under Austrain rule. To maintain the threatened territories of the Empire intact, the rulers of Austria was on this issue was just averted in 1913 because Grey used his good offices as mediator, and Germany on that occasion helped the work of peace. Next year the outcome was different.

The atrocious murder of the Austrain Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, was closely connected with the agitation conducted in Serbia for the redemption of Bosnian Yugoslavs. It was inevitable that Vienna would exact guarantees that this agitation should come to an end. Unfortunately the statesmen and soldiers in charge of Austro-Hungarian policy were determined not merely to get such guarantees, but to seize the opportunity

of the Sarajevo murder to annihilate Serbia by war, even at the risk of the interference of Russia, whom they trusted Germany to keep off. Germany was therefore deeply concerned and her rulers ought to have insisted on their right to be consulted by their ally. Unfortunately the Kaiser and his Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, though not really desiring war, gave Vienna a 'blank cheque' on July 5 to send what Ultimatum she wished to Belgrade.

When the Ultimatum appeared on July 23, it surprised the Kaiser and the whole world by its extravagance : such demands had never been made of an independent State ; yet Serbia did accept nine-tenths. A European Conference could easily have bridged the remaining difference. Grey urgently pressed on Germany the necessity of such mediation. But the Kaiser, though he had not approved of his ally's ultimatum, refused any Conference at all and declared that the question was a local affair between Austria-Hungary and Serbia with which neither Russia nor any other country was concerned. Such words meant the destruction of Serbia's independence, she began the slow process of her mobilization.

Germany, by this time in the hands of her military men who think only of their time-tables of war, sent ultimatums to Russia and to her ally France. At the beginning of August the huge strength of the German armies rolled, not eastward against Russia, but westward against France, through innocent Belgium.

Thus the quarrel, though it had broken out on Eastern questions which did not concern Britain, threatened at the very outset to put an end to the independence of France and Belgium in circumstances which would have prevented those countries from ever raising their heads again, otherwise than as vassals of Germany. The victory of the Central powers would have meant the subjection of Europe to an Empire better calculated to survive and rule in perpetuity than ever Napoleon's had been. The very virtues of the German people, as the servants of their rulers' ambitions, made the danger of permanent slavery for Europe extreme.

Sir Edward Grey had made every effort to avert the war, and thereby helped to win for Britain and her Allies the moral sympathy of a large part of mankind, particularly in America. But when those efforts failed, self-preservation dictated that we should not permit the Channel Ports, the Netherlands, and indeed all Europe, to fall into vassalage to power that was already openly our rival at sea. The violation of Belgian neutrality and the invaders' treatment of Belgian resistance was a drama that brought home, on a wave of generous emotion, the dreadful facts and necessities of the hour to the unwilling mind of the British public, which craved for nothing but peace.

Upto the moment of the invasion of Belgium, in the first days of August, British opinion had been divided as to the necessity of taking part in a European war. Neutralist feeling at the end of July was very strong, especially in the City, in the North of England and in the Liberal and labour parties. Half the Cabinet, headed by Mr. Lloyd George, was neutralist. It would, therefore, have been utterly impossible for Grey, as is sometimes suggested in the retrospect, to threaten Germany with our participation in war a day earlier than he did. Any premature attempt in July to commit Great Britain to fight would have led to the break-up of the Cabinet, and the division of the country at the moment of its greatest peril. Such a disaster nearly occurred, his colleagues and his countrymen. In that week of tumult and alarm, the heated mass of opinion might have exploded into fragments flying in opposite directions. The danger of national division came to an end as a result of the actual invasion of Belgium, and on August 4 Great Britain went to war as a united country on behalf of her Treaty commitments to protect Belgian neutrality. Belgium was not the only reason why we had to fight or perish ; but it was the reason why we were able to strike as a united people, in time, but only just in time, to prevent the fall of Pairs and the Channel ports into the German power.

COMPARISON BETWEEN FIRST WORLD WAR AND CONDITIONS AND METHODS OF NAPOLEONIC WARS

First, there was the difference of geographical situation, Jacobin and Napoleonic France attempted to conquer Europe from the base of its North-West angle the Germanic powers made the same attempt from the more formidable strategic centre which to them 'the inner-line' of battle against all-comers—Russian, Balkan, Italian, French and English-speaking Britain's communications with her allies in the East, particularly with Russia, were therefore, more liable to interruption by the enemy. Also, in case the enemy won the war, it would be far more easy for the 'Central Powers' to hold Europe and Western Asia in permanent subjection than it would have been or the successors of Napoleon, who could not have kept Germans down for ever if the battle of Leipzig has gone the other way.

As regards the strategy and tactics of the two struggles, Britain's part in both was to supply the money and maritime power of the Alliance, and to blockade the enemy by sea. But in the later war we also undertook another duty: we 'paid in person' sending over armies numbered in their millions, and counting our dead at a million and our wounded at over two million in four years. In the French wars from 1793 to 1815 our military effort, though important, has been small, and our average annual loss of life not above five thousand. Against Germany our average annual loss of life was nearly two hundred and fifty thousand. We found it necessary to make the greater military effort on the later occasion, partly because of the more formidable strength and geographical position of the 'Central Powers'; if once we allowed the Germans to overrun all Europe as Napoleon had done, we should never get them out again.

But all fuller participation in the war by land was dictated also by the changes in military and naval weapons and tactics, which had already taken the old security of our island position. The possessor of the Channel Ports could, by long-distance guns, aeroplanes and submarines, threaten our existence much more formidably than Napoleon and his flat-bottomed boats at Boulogne. So the British people themselves, as soldiers, took a leading part in the decisive operations of the war. The modern Leipzig and Waterloo consisted of a continuous battle, fought day and night for four years along a line hundreds of miles long. Modern financial credit, and means of transporting men food and warlike stores, enabled the opposing

nations to maintain millions of fighters continuously in the trenches, year after year on each of the principal fronts.

The most marked difference between the two wars lay in armaments and tactics—the long Napoleonic wars began and ended with the Brown-Bess musket and close-order fighting of British line and French column. Invention continued all the time to be applied by England to industry, but was not applied by any country to war. Willington's weapons and tactics were much the same as Marlborough's, Nelson's ships much the same as Blake's. Napoleon recognised the relation to war of modern administration and organisation, but he was fortunately blind to the military possibilities of modern science. But on the later occasion and methods of warfare which in 1914 began with all the latest mechanical appliances and in Germany at least with the fullest national organisation, were revolutionized several times over in the course of four short years. Not only did trench-warfare take the place of the war of movement, but the development of aerial and submarine warfare on a great scale, and the invention of age warfare by the Germans and of tank-warfare by the British are changes without any parallel among the slow-witted and unscientific wars of Napoleon. Science was harnessed, and the whole civil population was mobilised. Our ancestors in war time had lived safe behind Nelson's shield happily producing Scott's lays and novels, Wordsworth's poems, Constable's and Turner's pictures; but now the civil population of Great Britain was fain to devote its whole energy and brains for four years to the business of slaying and being slain.

In the days of Pitt and Castlereagh we increased our Colonial Empire at the expense of France and her allies, and we did so again at the expense of Germany a hundred years later. But the Colonies had taken no part in the earlier struggle, for in Pitt's day the First British Empire had already been lost and the Second was still in its infancy. A hundred years later it was fully grown. There was indeed no machinery of Imperial Federation to bid the Empire march into line, but by free individual choice, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Anglo-Dutch South Africa took each its full shares in the whole long contest. Between them they raised overseas contingents of a million and a half men. When the war was over, each dominion insisted on a full recognition of its nationhood. They claimed individual representation in the League of Nations, and the right to retain those German colonies they had themselves taken in war. And finally, in 1931, the Statute of Westminster had given legal force to the long-established custom that the Parliament of Great Britain should legislate for the Dominions only at their own request. Laws affecting the succession to the Crown can be altered only with the concurrence of each of the Dominions, and the King can take no advice about appointments or other action in the Dominions except from Dominion statesmen. In the post-war world it is no longer Parliament but the Crown that links the Empire, in symbolism, in loyalty and in law.

India in the time of Pitt and Bonaparte had been the scene of the final struggle against French influence among the native courts and armies. But India in 1914-15 sent over great bodies of troops, enthusiastic to take part in the European contest. Unfortunately in India, Egypt and Ireland the protracted and deadly character of the war gave rise to unrest and political exacerbation of which the early months had shown no sign.

The attitude of Britain to Ireland during the war was at heart friendly and very different from the spirit of 1795-1800. But there was said mismanagement. The golden moment in autumn of 1914 was missed when Kitchener refused to make sympathetic use of first outburst of Irish Nationalist readiness to volunteer for service overseas. In Eastern 1916 the Sinn Fein rising in Dublin was followed by the execution of its leaders, which turned them into martyrs of the Irish people and hastened the conversion of the island from Redmonds Home Rule Policy to the Sinn Fein demand for a Republic. This change of opinion was complete by the end of the War, and led, *etc.*, a disgraceful and bloody interlude, to the Treaty of 1921, which established the Irish Free State as a Dominion : the six Protestant countries of Ulster had, a few months before, obtained a Home Rule system of their own together with representation in the Westminster Parliament.

Since the war, Egypt has become an independent State, though in close alliance with Great Britain. And India has been set on the path of self-government. For although the Empire has been governed since 1918 mainly by Conservative statesmen, their Imperial policy has been extremely liberal. The old methods of Anglo Saxon domination were shown, during the war, to belong to a bygone age. South Africa was saved and neighbouring German territories overrun by the Dominion force under Botha and Smuts, who only a dozen years before had been our enemies in the field.

Relations with the United States during the war were subject to somewhat the same general conditions as a Napoleon's time, but owing to wiser management and a better spirit, took an opposite turn. On both occasions, the interest of England as the great blockading Power necessarily clashed with those of neutral Merchant Power, desirous of sending her goods as usual to the European market. But whereas the Peronal Ministry had acted as though war with the United States were a matter of indifference, and had idly drifted into that catastrophe, no such mistake was made by Sir Edward Grey, who sacrificed points of real military value in permitting the passage of cotton and other articles of value to the enemy in order to prevent an early explosion of American opinion against us. The Germans did the rest. Owing to the careful methods of British blockade-diplomacy, the pro-Ally feeling in the United States and

the German submarine attack on American persons and shipping were given time to operate and draw the great neutral into the contest on our side.

Blockade conditions differed in several vital respects from those of Napoleonic times. It is true that our blockade of the enemy's principal Fleet, though conducted at long distance from Scapa Flow, was atleast as effective as Nelson's close watch off Brest and Toulon in stopping all chance of invasion and in paralysing the enemy's great ships. But the Napoleonic privateers and frigates that skirmished against British commerce in the later part of the war threatened to starve England into surrender. New methods of fighting the new danger were devised and carried out with a scientific efficiency wholly modern, and an old-fashioned skill and courage at sea of which the Royal Navy and the Merchant Service had not lost the secret.

England no longer fed herself, as in Napoleonic times, and the command of the sea was therefore, more than ever essential to her very life. But neither, is appeared in the event, could the Central Empire feed themselves for an indefinite period. As the British blockade tightened, especially after the American entry into the war enabled the stanglehold to be increased diplomatically and navalily, Germany and Austria began to starve outright. Since the Industrial Revolution, European countries had ceased to be self-supporting in proportion as they were lightly civilised and modern. The economic fabric by which the modern million lives as too international and too delicate to survive them after a fashion for four years, during which the accumulated wealth and civilisation of a hundred years were used up. When the dreadful four years came to an end, Europe was ruined, materially and morally, and made very little recovery. Nothing but the removal of the fear of yet another such war could have enabled the freedom and elasticity of higher civilized life to be resumed.

A remarkable contrast appears between the two historic wars, as regards the position of the working classes and the relations of Britons to one another. Pitt and Castlereagh fought the French as constitutional statesmen, by and through the House of Commons ; but it never occured to them or to any of their colleagues that the common people required, in time of national peril, any management or consideration beyond anti-Jacobin repression and the silencing of Parliamentary Reformers. Nor, as regards the mere winning of the war, did this reckoning prove wrong. But the dangers of the Home Front in 1914-18 had to be met by very different methods. Early in 1918, while the war was still raging, the Fourth Reform Bill was passed by general consent, giving what was practically Manhood Suffrage and large instalment of the new principle of Woman's Suffrage, cessation of outrages by the Suffragettes, and the splendid

war work done by women in the factories and elsewhere, had converted objectors to their enfranchisement. The element to Dictatorship was perhaps stronger than in Pitt's time, as regards the relation of the Government to the House of Commons. But the English Cabinet Ministers of 1914-18 had always to appeal differentially to the people. For they knew that if munition workers slacked or stopped work, it was no longer in the power of 'magistrates and yeomanry' to make them go on. Since 'the lower orders' had developed into enfranchised and partially educated democracy, only persuasion could effect what repression had accomplished in the days of the Luddites. In the struggle with Jacobin France, the war-time specific was Combination Acts to suppress Trade Unions; in the struggle with Germany it was the raising of wages to an unprecedented height, and inducing leaders of the labour party to enter the Coalition Cabinet. The hardships of wartime did not, as a hundred years before, fall with their greatest force on the fortunes of the wage-earner. So long as the common danger of the war lasted, the spirit of brotherhood in the British people in all classes, both at home and in the field, was at any rate much deeper and more widely spread than during the wars against Napoleon.

If Constantinople had been taken in 1915, it is possible that victory might have been obtained in two years, by mobilizing all the Balkan States against the Central Powers and opening a free channel of supply to Russia. But Kitchener and the Cabinet failed to give proper timing and support to the spasmodic naval and military attacks on the Dardanelles, and the great opportunity of shortening the war was lost. In consequence of that failure, decision was only reached after a gradual process of exhaustion on the Western Front by the slaughter of millions, and the slow starvation of Austria-Hungary and Germany by the British blockade. When Russia fell out of the Alliance owing to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, her place was taken, only just in time, by the United States, unable any longer to condone the sinking of American ships by German submarines.

A Coalition of War Ministry of Liberals and Conservatives had been formed under Asquith in the second year of the war. An ultimate though not an immediate consequence of the failure at the Dardanelles in 1915 was the fall of Asquith in December 1916. With him went a liberal element which might have been most useful at the peace-making, but could not survive the stresses of war. Asquith had many qualities as a Prime Minister in war time, but he needed a great military adviser and he had not found all that was needed in his Secretary of State for War Kitchener of Khartoum. Kitchener roused the country to an early perception of the length and magnitude of the struggle, and conjured up the voluntary enlistment of 'Kitchener's armies' in the early months, while the country was still unwilling to submit to conscription. He was indeed a great

personality and had great hold over the public imagination, but he had not the elastic mind necessary for the conduct of a world war under modern scientific conditions.

The man who rose to the hight of the occasion, at least in the opinion of great masses of his countrymen, was Lloyd George. His activity as Minister of Munitions had made good the original deficiencies of the War Office. His imagination was always at work, his energy was contagious, and the state of courageous excitement in which he dealt with one war problem after another gave more confidence to the man in the street than the exasperating calm of Asquith's storism. There will always be divergent opinions as a Lloyd George's contribution to the victory, but at least his activity and courage help'd to give confidence to the country and energy to its leaders in the last two grim years.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

When at last the German line gave way before Foch's strategy and Haig's attack, and victory came with unexpected suddenness in November 1918, England and France were called upon in all instant to switch their minds from the fierce mood of war to the prudence, foresight and generosity that peace-making requires. It took long years before France could think sanely, but in a year or two England had recovered her usual good nature but scarcely her good sense; unfortunately the peace had to be made in the first six months, while the war passions were still allame in every land. Nor was Lloyd George the man to risk his great popularity and spend his immense influence in a struggle against the passions of the hour, which always had an undue influence on his susceptible and mercurial mind. Moreover, the circumstances under which he had replaced Asquith as Prime Minister had led to a breach between him and the major half of the Liberal party during the last year of war: the Armistice found him in political alliance with the proprietors of certain popular journals, then fiercely calling out for vengeance on German war crimes. And so at the General Election of December 1918 Asquith's followers, who would have stood for moderation in peace-keeping, were deliberately prescribed by Lloyd George and annihilated at the polls: the Liberal party was sent and destroyed, and has never recovered importance, for the Labour party in later elections step by step took its place.

In the General Election held these circumstances between the Armistice and the peace-making at Versailles a House of Com-

mons was returned pledged to make Germany pay for the war. Lloyd George held a huge majority. After trying this millstone of a mandate round his own neck, he went to Versailles to help Clemenceau and Wilson give peace to the world. France, who had suffered more, was yet more intent on vengeance than England, and Wilson meaning well, understood little of realities in Europe, or of opinion in America.

Wilson and Lloyd George prevented France from permanently occupying the German part of the left bank of the Rhine; they obtained this only by a promise that America and England would guarantee the frontiers of France against attack, a promise which American refused to ratify, consequently England also declined this obligation for a while, thereby losing for some years all control over the policy of France towards Germany, and at the same time encouraging Germany to revive her ambition of conquest.

Upon the whole, the drawing of European boundaries was not ill done at Versailles. The new Europe consisted of a number of States based on the real principle of nationality. Indeed, the States that became the heirs of Austria-Hungary, had been formed by the act of their own populations, as a result of the last stage of the war, before ever the statesmen met at Versailles to confirm the change. It was the war, not the peace, that destroyed the Empire of the Hapsburgs. In 1920, as a result of a war with Soviet Russia, Poland rashly expanded her eastern frontier far beyond the 'Curzon line' approved and guaranteed by England.

The treatment of Germany by the victorious Allies erred in two respects. In the first place no effective system of inspection was enforced to prevent the war chiefs in Germany from secretly to make new German Republic popular with the German people. It should have been the first object of England and France to enable it to survive as a peace democracy. But the German nation was humiliated by the dictation of terms on the hardships of which she was not even permitted to plead before the victors: she was forbidden to unite peacefully with Austria; she was excluded from the League of Nations; in the League of Nations; in the matter of Reparations she was treated in a manner so fantastic as to help to injure her without benefitting her creditors.

At the same time the League of Nations was set up and closely associated with the terms of Treaty. But England alone of the Great Powers gave support to the true spirit of the League, and made some effort to remedy the grievances of Germany, particularly as regards Reparations. The mood of the unhappy General Election of December 1918, having dictated the treaty, soon died out in the placable breaths of the English, who hastened to disarm and put the war memories behind them, trusting with too complete a confidence in the power of the maimed League of Nations to avert the natural consequences both of the War and of the Peace.

America retired into herself. Having been instrumental in pledging Europe to the policy of the League of Nations, she refused at the last moment to join it. Nor would she any longer co-operate in any practical way to preserve peace. It was a vicious circle : her withdrawal made the European anarchy worse, and the European anarchy has made her more determined than ever not to interfere in Europe again. She even withdrew from the Reparation Commission, where her support would have enabled England to restrain France : the French were therefore, able to find a quasi legal excuse for their rash invasion of the German territory of Ruhr in 1923, England vainly protesting. The outcome was the Germany of Hitler. The other main cause of the rise of the Fascist and Nazi forms of Government has been the simultaneous imitation of and reaction against Communism, to which doctrine the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia gave a great impetus throughout the Continent. The outcome of the war was to destroy liberty, democracy and parliaments in the greater part of Europe. And the Nazi form of government, based on wholesale torture and massacre, was so immeasurably worse than anything in the experience of modern Europe, that its reality and implications were not believed in England until in 1940 it had extended its frightful operations over almost the whole Continent.

In the years that followed the signature of the Peace Treaties, English policy had the one merit of goodwill, but shod neither foresight nor firmness. Nothing really effective was done to appease German opinion in the earlier years while appeasement was still possible, nor until very late to prepare for the storm when the storm became only too probable.

The English people in the natural reaction after four years' experience of the unspeakable horrors of modern 'total' war, regarded pacifism and unilateral disarmament as a method of securing peace and hailed the League of Nations as a machine for making all safe by some magic or automatic process not clearly defined. Alas! if England intended the dictates of the League to be respected, she should have put herself in a position to enforce them for no other nation had both the strength and the will. If she meant to remain a European power, she should have armed as others were arming. Even after the Nazi Revolution of 1933—an event ominous enough in all conscience—Germany was allowed, without any corresponding effort on our part, not only to build up her great army again but to obtain a temporary predominance in the air, to militarize the Rhine Land contrary to Treaty, and to make upon it the Siegfried Line to block us out of Central Europe. At the same time Italy, whose geographic position controlled our other contacts with Austria and the Balkans, was driven into the arms of Germany by the feeble application of 'economic sanctions' against Mussolini's Abyssinian aggression (1935-36) : England in that fatal affair would neither obtain from intercession nor threaten to fight in earnest Europe was sacrificed to Abyssinia and in vain.

While no serious effort was made to come to an agreement with Russia for the restraint of Nazi German aggression.

Future historians will have the unenviable task of deviding the blame for a long series of errors between the successive governments of the country and the ever varying moods of the opposition and public opinion which those governments too often weakly followed. It was early in 1939, on Hitler's occupation of Prague in violation of the Munich Agreement of a few months before, that the British people and Government woke up to the dread realities of the situation into which they had been drifting for twenty years. Even then the pace of re-armament was by no means what the crisis required, and the union of parties and full development of war effort was only effected after six months of actual war. At length England faced supreme danger with her old courage, of which she found the symbol in Winston Churchill.

The Twentieth Century has been kept in a perpetual movement and unrest by the headlong progress of inventions, which hurry mankind on along roads that no one has chosen, a helpless fugitive with no abiding place. The motor-car age has changed life even more than the railway age, and the air age will soon have changed it once more, with Atomic power to follow. Meanwhile the motor-car is pouring the town out into the country, a movement that has both its good and its bad sides ; but the bad has at present an unnecessary advantage, because the process is conducted haphazard without control by the community. Ribbon development, which is turning the long length of our country roads into streets, is recognised as an evil but no law is passed that effectually prevents its headlong progress. So, too, the destruction of rural beauty is regretted, but so far the State admits no duty to help in the matter, although now at last it is acting belatedly to try to save what is left of agriculture as an occupation in England in order to obtain food in time of war. Meanwhile, broadcasting is effecting an intellectual and education revolution which it is too early yet to estimate. Recent years have seen greater changes in the habits and thoughts of Englishmen and the appearance of England than whole centuries before. The most encouraging feature is that, in spite of the frightful handicap of the First World War and its consequences, the material well-being a generation before ; and the second war against Germany has been waged by the British people with a manifestation of ability and morale even greater, perhaps, than that shown by their fathers in the First. There is, therefore, hope that in the end man may use his new powers to make his life fuller and happier than of old, if some day an escape is found from totalitarain war and violence. (Trevelyan).

WORLD WAR SECOND

Causes

1. "Treaty of Versailles was an armistice for peace for 20 years" (Gen. Fotech). The treaty put Germany to the state of humiliation and thus it was, but natural, that the fallen Germany would arrest her position. Fortunately with the growth of Nazism in 1933, the Nazi leaders played upon the sentiments of the people to assure them that they would be taking back from their fellow imperialists the parts of Germany lost as a result of the defeat of Germany. Thus in this respect we can say that the Second World War was reaction to the injustices of the allies towards Germany who stood defeated in the First World War.

2. Germany had made a tremendous progress, particularly in the industrial field. She made every effort to rise up as rival force to her European neighbour. Accordingly, she made every effort to dominate the world powers, but this obviously led to the question whether the other imperialist powers, particularly Britain and France, who are thus likely to be dislodged from their positions would tolerate. Thus it was the foremost intension of Germany to weaken Britain and France so that she may be able to establish a supremacy among her European rivals. The result was a conflict of interest between Germany and the older imperialist powers, which it will not be wrong to say was the immediate cause of the provocation which led to the breaking out of the Second World War. Germany who believed in the theory of 'stab in the back' had begun to realise that the defeat of Germany during the First World War was not due to the weakness, rather it was an act of betrayal on the part of some of the national leaders who had caused the humiliating defeat of Germany.

Thus, the people and the new Government of Germany believed that if certain conditions could be created in which there was no possibility of a stab in the back, Germany was capable enough of regaining her lost power. Accordingly, the totalitarian state under the Nazis come into being in 1933 and the people started confiding it, since it presented a rosy picture for recapturing the lost territory.

The growth of Nazis was based on the assumption that the people of Germany were from Nordic blood. Thus believing in the Darwin theory of evolution, the Nazi leaders' claim that in the process of evolution the people of Germany claiming themselves from the Nordic blood were the foremost and thus they enjoyed their right to rule over the rest of mankind. This concept of racial supremacy of the Germans made them adopt a contentious attitude to the rest of the world and thus the German leaders began to assume that it was as if their birth right to rule over the mankind. The economic crisis of 1929 and thereafter which continued to rage the European world upto 1938 was no less the cause of the out break of the Second World War. The hardships suffered by the masses lead to unemployment, misery and hunger, and factories stoped working, banks failed, and the value of the property sank. Even the U.S. economy was virtually shattered. The result was that the masses felt so confused that they lost all confidence in the raciality of political institutions like democracy or international co-operation. This led to the growth of an ideal that international domination was the only remedy to the economy suffering of a country. After the economic depression in 1929. In U.S.A. another wave of economic depression hit hard the U.S. economy, which rendered about four million persons unemployed in U.S.A. Accordingly, the masses began to feel that preparation for war was a stimulant to economic revival. Hitler in Germany, on the other hand, also believed in this principle and he thought he could possibly built the economy of his country by engaging people in preparations of war.

The failure of great powers, who worked through the League of Nations to provide a system of collective security in the world, was also a potent factor for the out-break of the Second World War. It is evident that it is the U.S.'s attitude of refusal to join the League of Nations which weakened the League of Nations. The U.S.A had, by that time, become a decisive force on the world political level, any staying out of U.S.A. from the world body had naturally paralysed the world organisation. Accordingly, it was difficult to maintain any equilibrium or to promote general conditions of peace in the world. In the absence of the American participation the allies were simply left with desparate measures to safeguard there own positions against the ever increasing aggressive and militant attitude of Germany. A similar attitude was witnessed in Soviet Union. The other big powers were suspicious of Soviet communism and made very direct and indirect effort to keep Soviet Union away from the active participation. Accordingly, when the Nazis assumed power in Germany, even Hitler wanted to exploit Russia, the main enemy of Germany. His openly declaring that the Russia was the main enemy of Germany, was just to cause a diffusion in the allies.

It will, therefore, be justified to say that alongside with the historical reasons there were plotical and economic reasons, and no less the

physcological reasons which were reasons responsible for the armed conflict leading to the Second World War. The special circumstances which contributed to the out-break of the Second World War can, however, be taken as the claims of Germany as well as of Russia upon Polish territories which were thus formed under Treaty of Versailles. Thus, it will be right to say that the blunders and omissions and commissions of the Treaty of Versailles were largely responsible for the out-break of the Second World War.

STRUGGLE FOR BOLSHEVIK LINE

In 1902 Stalin was arrested. It was here, in prison, that he made himself familiar with the divergence of views between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks which was revealed at the Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. Stalin ranged himself on the side of the Bolsheviks.

In the autumn of 1903 Stalin was deported to the village of Novaya Uda (Balagansk Uyezd, Irkutsk Gubernia).

In January 1904, along with Tskhakaya, St. Shaumyan, Knuniyants, Makharadze and others of the Caucasian Union Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. Stalin escaped from exile. He now engaged himself in the editing of the journal, 'Proletariatis Brdzola' (the struggle of the Proletariat), and campaigned in support of the Bolshevik demand for the convening of the Third Party Congress.

In the year of the first Russian Revolution (1905-1907), Stalin, as one of the leaders of the Party in Transcaucasia, accomplished a great deal in the ideological and organisational spheres. In a series of articles published in Bolshevik journals and also through brochures, he defended the Leninist position on the question of the hegemony of the Proletariat in the revolution and on the army insurrection which had broken out against the opportunist dictatorship of the Mensheviks and the anarchists.

Stalin participated in the First Bolshevik Conference of Russia at Tammerfors (1905), in the Fourth Congress (called the Congress of Unification) of the R.S.D.L.P. (Stockholm, 1906), and in the Fifth Party Congress (London, 1907).

At the Fourth Congress, Stalin defended the Bolshevik line on the revolution, but in the debate on the agrarian question, he sided with the 'partitionists', who, differing from Lenin's programme of nationalisation of land, advocated an erroneous programme of distribution of the big landed property among the peasants.

At the beginning of June 1907, Stalin was working in Baku along with St. Shaaumyan, Japaridze, Orjonikidze, Azizbekiv, Spandaryan, Voroshilov, Fioletov and other of the Party organization in Baku. He also helped the running of the Bolshevik journals of this city and carried on the struggle against the Mensheviks. In March 1908 he was arrested once again and deported to Solvychegodsk.

In June 1909, he escaped and returned to Baku.

In February 1910 the Central Press of the Party published in a supplement to the journal, *Social Democrat*, Stalin's letters from the Caucasus wherein he defended the Leninist line of struggle liquidators and conciliators.

In March 1910, Stalin was again arrested and deported to Solvychegodsk.

Founding of the 'Pravada'

In January 1912, in one of the sessions of the Central Committee at the Fourth Conference of the Bolsheviks (Prague), Stalin, while in exile, was admitted into the Central Committee and was put in charge of its Russian Bureau. Making his escape from exile in February 1912, he continued Party work, helped the running of the Bolshevik journal 'Izvestia', and participated in the preparation of the first number of the 'Pravada'.

In April 1912 he was arrested while in St. Petersburg and deported to the territory of Narym. In September 1912 he escaped once again and returned to St. Petersburg, where he joined Sverdlov, Molotov, Liominsky and others, in editing the 'Pravada' and in directing the Bolshevik activities in the electoral campaign for the Fourth Duma.

In December 1912 Stalin, alongwith other Party militants, participated in a conference organised by the Central Committee at Cracow.

Basing himself on the theory and programme of the Bolshevik Party on the national question, which he had developed earlier, Stalin wrote, towards the close of 1912, *Marxism and the National Question*.

This well-known book was highly appreciated by Lenin. This work sharply criticised the opportunist national programme of the Austrian Social Democrats and their Russian followers (the Bund and Menshevik Liquidators) and defended the Bolshevik national programme.

In February 1913 he was arrested in St. Petersburg and deported to the Turukhansk region.

February Revolution

After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 12 March 1917 Stalin returned to Petrograd. He became a member of the directing bureau of the Central Committee and concurrently also the editor of the 'Pravada'.

In this period he took an erroneous stand on the question of peace and on the role of the Soviets, holding as he did to the already out-dated slogan of the revolutionary democratic-dictatorship of the workers and peasants and defending the policy of pressure on the

Provisional Government by the Soviets. This was a profoundly wrong position, said Stalin himself later, "because it shares the par-
-tist illusions and makes a mockery of and fetters the revolutionary education of the masses. This wrong position shared at that time with other comrades in the Party was not entirely given up till April when I rallied to the theses of Lenin".

At the Seventh Bolshevik Conference, known as the April Conference (1917), Stalin supported Lenin's line of socialist revolution and made a report on the national question. In this period, the Bolshevik Party, under the direction of Lenin, initiated immense activities among the workers, soldiers and peasants, and fought for the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Stalin took an active part in the work of the Party in the organisation and political education of the masses.

In July-August 1917, at Petrogread, the Sixth Congress of the Party took place. Lenin, who was working underground, directed the preparation and work of the Congress through Sverdlov, Stalin, Molotov and Orjonikidze.

As Lenin could not be present at the Congress, the Central Committee delegated Stalin to present the report on the Political situation. He developed the Leninist line on the preparation and carrying out of the socialist revolution. In his concluding speech, he replied to the observations of Preobrazhensky and of others, who maintained that the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia was impossible without the triumph of the revolution in the West.

"The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the country that will lay the road to socialism.....We must discard the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way." The Congress adopted the Leninist line of armed insurrection for the winning of the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Pereparation for Insurrection

On October 10, 1917 the Central Committee of the Party adopted the historic resolution drafted and proposed by Lenin, which stressed the need to launch an armed insurrection in the near future. A political centre for the direction of the insurrection was established. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee had Lenin at its head. On 16 (29th) October 1917 the Central Committee reiterated, in an enlarged session, Lenin's resolution on armed insurrection and the creation of a revolutionary military centre comprising Sverdlov, Stalin, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky, adopted at its earlier session.

The day-to-day direction of the activity of this Centre was assumed by Lenin.

At the Second Congress of the Soviets of Russia (26 October—8 November 1917), Stalin was elected a member of the Central Executive Committee and appointed People's Commissar for Nationalities. From March 1919 he combined this post with that of People's Commissar of State Control, reorganised later into the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection.

Foreign Intervention and Civil War

In the years of the foreign armed intervention and of Civil War, Stalin worked as a member of the Revolutionary Council of War of the Republic and carried out important missions of the Central Committee of the Party and of the Soviet government on different fronts (Tsaritsin sector, the south-east front, the south and south-west front).

With the suppression of the interventionists and the termination of the Civil War, with the transition into the period of building a peaceful economy, the anti-Party groups began to intensify their struggle against the line elaborated by Lenin. Stalin defended the Leninist line, struggled against these hostile groups and factions (mainly Trotskyites, Workers' Opposition and the Democratic Centralist Group).

At the Tenth Party Congress, 1921, Stalin made a report on the immediate tasks of the Party on the national question.

After the Eleventh Congress, 1922, in one of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee, Stalin was elected General Secretary of the Central Committee.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET UNION

During this period, the Party accomplished, under Lenin's direction, a great deal of work in the building of a strong U.S.S.R. Lenin visualised that the U.S.S.R. would constitute a benevolent union of republics, a federation in which each republic would enjoy equal rights and sovereignty.

Stalin's first proposal on this question was erroneous. He advocated autonomisation, which simply meant subordination of all the republics to the R.S.F.S.R., in the name of 'autonomous unity.'

Lenin rose resolutely against this proposal. He criticised Stalin's erroneous view, his spirit of conciliation combined with great-nation chauvinism.

The Leninist principles adopted by the Central Committee constituted the basis for the creation of the U.S.S.R.

At the first Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R., 1922, Lenin being ill, Stalin presented the report on the establishment of the Soviet Union in the name of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U(B).

Lenin's Death and After

After Lenin's death, the Communist Party, under the guidance of the Central Committee, led the Soviet people with firmness and confidence towards the realisation of the ideas of Lenin and the construction of socialism.

In this period Stalin wrote works which had great importance in the defence and propagation of Leninism and in the crushing of anti-Leninist ideologies and trends. A considerable role was played by his report entitled Fundamentals of Leninism (1924), wherein he expounded the fundamentals of the Leninist doctrine and established Lenin's great contribution to the enrichment of Marxism.

In the struggle against the Trotskyites, the defence by Stalin and other leaders of the party of the Leninist theory of the possibility of the triumph of socialism in a single country and its triumph in the U.S.S.R. in conditions of capitalist encirclement, had special importance.

Building of Socialism

With Lenin's directives as the basis, the Party elaborated a scientifically founded programme for the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and mobilised the whole country towards socialist industrialisation. This line was expounded in the political report of the Central Committee to the Fourteenth Congress (1925), presented by Stalin.

It was emphasised in this report that industrialisation consisted essentially in the priority development of heavy industry and above all, of machine-building industry. The report brought to light the cardinal difference between socialist industrialisation, leading to a rise in the living standards of the workers, and capitalist industrialisation, based on the conquest and exploitation of colonies as well as of the workers.

At the beginning of 1926 came Stalin's work, on the problems of Leninism, wherein he criticised the opportunist ideas of Zinoviev which滑ded over to the ideological positions of Trotskyism.

At the Fifteenth Party Conference, November, 1926, Stalin presented the report entitled "On the Social Democratic Deviation of the Executive Committee of the Communist International", December, 1926, he made the report, "Once more on the Social Democratic Deviation in our Party". Masing himself on Leninist ideas, Stalin in the two reports exposed the Trotskyites, their capitulation to capitalism and their disruptive activities.

Basing on the successes of socialist industrialisation and the inspiring plan of co-operative agriculture laid down by Lenin, the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) 1927, posed as the immediate and most urgent task of the Party and the Soviet people, the collectivisation of agriculture. These questions were expounded in the political report of the Central Committee presented to the Congress by Stalin.

It was during this period that the anti-Party group of right opportunists (Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and others) rose against the general line of the Party. Stalin's report 'On the Industrialisation of the country and the Right Deviation in the Communist Party (1928), and 'On the Right Deviation in the Bolshevik Party (1929)' etc., denounced the kulak ideology.

At the Sixteenth Congress of the Party (1930) and at the Seventeenth Congress (1934), Stalin presented the reports on the activity of the Central Committee of the Party. In this period, the Communist Party and the Soviet State carried out a big socialist offensive against the capitalist elements.

In a tense international situation, surmounting immense difficulties, the country made up the historic lag and overcame her backward economy and technology. Oriented towards the priority development of heavy industry, the Party accomplished decisive successes in the socialist industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture.

In 1938 Stalin wrote *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, wherein he explained succinctly the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and its bearing to the practical activity of the Party.

The Eighteenth Party Congress was held in March 1939. In the report to the Congress, Stalin expounded the programme elaborated by the Central Committee, a programme of struggle of the Party and of the Soviet people for the achievement of a socialist society and for the gradual transition from socialism to communism.

The Great Patriotic War

On May 6, 1941 Stalin was nominated president of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. At the beginning of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, he was appointed President of the State Committee of Defence, People's Commissar for Defence and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. These posts he occupied until the victorious conclusion of the war. The great victory over the Hitler axis was won by the Soviet people under the direction of the Communist Party and its Central Committee headed by Stalin.

In the years of war Stalin, as head of the Soviet Government, took part in the conference of the heads of the U.S.S.R., U.S. and Great Britain at Tehran (1943), and at Yalta and Berlin (1945). In this period, he carried on a correspondence with the president of the U.S.A. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, through which he fought tenaciously for the strengthening of the anti-Hitler coalition and for the defence of the national interests of the people who were victims of Nazi aggression.

In the period after the war, Stalin published the works, concerning Marxism in Linguistics (1950) and the Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. (1952), where he dealt with important questions of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. exercised a great influence on the elaboration of certain questions of political economy of socialism. Stalin underlined the objective character of the economic laws of socialism. Basing himself on the classics of Marxism-Leninism, he formulated the fundamental economic law of socialism, the law of balanced development of the national economy. He emphasised the role of priority development of the production of means of production for expanded socialist reproduction.

On the other hand, it was in this work that a certain number of wrong and questionable formulations were made. These were : (1) The affirmation that commodity circulation had begun to obstruct the development of the productive forces of the country and that it was necessary to pass gradually to products exchange ; (2) the under-estimation of the effect of the law of value in the sphere of production, particularly in that which concerns the means of production ; and (3) The thesis of the inevitability of a decrease in the volume of capitalist production after the Second World War and the inevitability of wars between capitalist states in the present conditions.

In October 1952, was held the Nineteenth Party Congress. At the closing session of the Congress, Stalin made a speech. A plenary session of the Central Committee held after the Congress elected Stalin Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party.

The outstanding work of Stalin was highly appreciated by the Soviet Government which conferred on him the titles of Hero Socialist Labour (1939) and Hero of Soviet Union (1945) and the rank Generalissimo of the Soviet Union (1945). He was decorated with three orders of Lenin, the Order of Victory, of the Red Banner, and the Suvorov Medal, first class.

On 5 March 1953, after a painful illness, J.V. Stalin died.

GREAT MERITS OF STALIN

In the course of long years, Stalin has been the leader of the Party and the Soviet State. An outstanding proletarian revolutionary, he has played a great role in the organisation of the struggle of the proletariat of Russia against tsarism, the big landlords and the bourgeoisie, in the preparation and accomplishment of the socialist revolution in Russia, in the struggle against the White-guards and interventionists during the civil war, in the realisation of the Leninist plan of industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. and of collectivisation of rural economy, in the struggle for the building of socialism, for the independence of the Soviet country, for the strengthening of peace.

Of great merit was his ideological struggle against the enemies of Leninism : Trotskyites, right opportunists, bourgeois nationalists and revisionists of all shades. In his theoretical writings Stalin developed the Marxist-Leninist theory by applying it to the concrete conditions of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. This was of great importance to the international working class and communist movement.

For his dedication to the cause of the working class, for his sacrifices in the struggle for socialism, for his uncompromising fight to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, Stalin is well-known throughout the world and wields immense authority in the Party and among the people.

Cult of Personality

It was in these conditions that there was born and developed, little by little, the cult of the personality of Stalin.

In order to understand how this has been possible, we must take into account the concrete historical and objective conditions in which the building of socialism was accomplished in the U.S.S.R. and also certain negative traits in the personality of Stalin himself. The country of the Soviet was for a long time a besieged fortress. The menace of imperialist aggression hung over it. This menace grew serious after the advent of fascism in Germany in 1933.

The building of socialism took place under conditions of fierce class struggle. It had to surmount the resistance of the exploiting classes and carry on a merciless struggle against the enemies of Lenin-

ism. Such an international and internal situation made inevitable the introduction of an iron discipline, a strict centralised leadership and rendered necessary certain restrictions on Soviet democracy and inner-Party democracy.

Stalin introduced these restrictions as a rule of life of the Party and the State, inevitable though they were under conditions of hard struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and in the struggle against the German fascist invaders. He transgressed against the norms of Party life and the principles of collective leadership elaborated by Lenin. He showed certain intolerance with regard to everything that went against his personal opinion.

While the activities of the local organisations of the Party went on in conformity with the Party Constitution, the plenary sessions of the Central Committee and the Congress of the Party became irregular and were not convened for years. Stalin, in fact, began to consider himself above criticism.

Towards December 1922, Lenin wrote a letter to the Congress, in which he thought it necessary to bring to the knowledge of the 12th Party Congress the fact that Stalin had concentrated in his hands immense power. He demanded that Stalin should always exercise sufficient prudence. Lenin noted that Stalin was 'rude, capricious, disloyal and not sufficiently considerate to comrades.'

Realising the grave consequences for the future of the Party and the country resulting from Stalin's defects, Lenin proposed the removal of Stalin from the general secretaryship of the Party. After the death of Lenin, the letter was read out to a reunion of delegates of the Thirteenth Party Congress (May 1924).

In the interval between the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Party Congresses, especially after the death of Lenin, the anti-Leninist groups intensified their activity. The opposition, led by Trotsky, rose openly against the general line of the Party.

The delegates to the Thirteenth Congress, after the first session of the Central Committee and in conditions of better inner-Party struggle, examined Lenin's letter, took into consideration the great theoretical and organisational accomplishments of Stalin in the struggle against the Trotskyites and other opposition groups. Believing that Stalin would undertake to fulfil conscientiously the promise to overcome his defects which had seriously worried Lenin, the delegates decided to retain Stalin in the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee.

For some time after Lenin's death, Stalin seemed to benefit from his critical remarks. But subsequently, especially after the Seventeenth Party Congress (1934), the grossly overestimated his

personal merits and considered himself infallible. The successes achieved by the Party and the Soviet people and the praise lavished on him went to his head.

Working Theses

In the last years of Stalin's activities, there became evident a distinct contrast between his words and deeds, and practice. His works contain correct views which are profoundly Marxist. He wrote of people as the makers of history and emphasised the role of the Party and the Central Committee as constituting collective leadership of the Party. But in practice, during the last period of his life, Stalin discarded these Marxist-Leninist principles and contributed to the popularisation of the cult of his own personality. One can find expression of this in the History of the C.P.S.U. (B) (1938), and in the second edition of Joseph Stalin --A Short Biography (1946), drawn up by Stalin himself.

Stalin justifiably emphasised the necessity of strengthening the Soviet State, and of showing intransigence towards the class enemy, vigilance with respect to counter-revolutionaries. But in 1937 the advanced the wrong thesis that class struggle inside the country would grow sharper as socialism made strides.

Class struggle in the U.S.S.R. had attained its peak height in the period when the question, 'who would win?', was yet to be resolved. But once the exploiting classes were liquidated and the Soviet Society attained a solid moral and political unit, the thesis that class struggle would inevitably sharpen became fallacious.

Stalin initiated massive repression against his ideological and political adversaries in order to crush them, which in the new conditions, was not necessary.

In this situation the real enemies of the Party and the people (Yagoda, Yeshov and Beria) who had gained Stalin's confidence succeeded in exterminating many honest people devoted to the Party. There was also violation of the Leninist principles and policies with regard to nationalities. The elimination in 1953 of the criminal gang of Beria made it possible to discover the extent of violations of Soviet legality perpetrated by them.

Mistakes in Assessment

Stalin contributed notably to the defence of the country in the struggle against fascism. All the same, on the eve of the Great Patriotic War he made a false assessment the international situation. Exaggerating the import of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, he failed to credit intelligence reports on the preparations by the German fascist troops for an invasion of Soviet territory. He rejected all proposals on the need to alert Soviet troops on the frontiers.

... This was one of the causes why Soviet troops in the West were taken by surprise by the Hitlerite aggression. The forces which guarded the frontier put up a heroic resistance to the invaders, but insufficiently equipped to repel the attack and obliged to accept battle in such a disadvantageous situation, they suffered heavy losses in men and equipment, thus weakening themselves to the advantage of the enemy.

In directing certain important military operations, Stalin many times took decisions without consulting the members of the Central Committee who were engaged in military work, without explaining the real situation,—all of which had unfavourable effect on the progress of military operations in the first stage of the war.

During the war, the Party and the Government organised the production of war materials on a vast scale in the Eastern part of the country. Thanks to the great advantages of the socialist system, to the existence of a highly developed industry, to the sacrifices of the Soviet peoples, it became possible to achieve rapidly sufficient superiority over the enemy in the production of all armaments, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and to defeat the enemy plan of a lightning war, to effect a change in the course of war and to prepare the conditions for the final crushing of the Hitlerite invaders.

The Communist Party and its Central Committee were the organising and directing force of the struggle of the entire people against the German fascist invaders. The Communist Party united and geared the activities of all the Party and Soviet organisations, of the economic and social organisations and of military organisations.

The members of the Central Committee of the Party, leading Soviet military officers, the local Soviet and Party organisations — all displayed immense organisational, political, economic and military initiative. Thanks to the firmness and heroism of the Soviet fighters to the remarkable strategy of our military leaders, of military operations of unprecedented dimensions and boldness of conception — thanks to all this, the Soviet Union was successful and complete victory was achieved over the enemy.

During the post-war years Stalin at times used his personal authority to reject new proposals on economic questions submitted by members of the Central Committee and implemented his own which often proved wrong.

This was harmful to the economic development of the country, especially so as in agriculture. Grave errors were committed by Stalin also on certain questions of foreign policy (e.g., the break with Yugoslavia).

Twentieth Congress

After the death of Stalin, the enemies of socialism the world over hoped that without him there would be disorder and chaos in the ranks of the C.P.S.U. The enemies counted on the Soviet State being weakened and hoped to profit by it and to divert the Soviet people from the socialist path.

All these calculations of the enemies of socialism have foundered, because the Party and the Soviet State have had and still have at their head the Central Committee, boundlessly devoted to Leninism and possessing a proper grasp of the needs of the country, its internal and external policies, and able to confidently guide the people on the socialist road.

The Party has condemned with justice and Leninist firmness the mistakes of Stalin in the last period of his activity, in order to prevent their recurrence. The party has severely criticised the violations of Leninist norms of Party life, the abandonment of Leninist principles of collective leadership and inner-Party democracy, the infringement on socialist legality. By putting an end to these violations, it has strengthened the C.P.S.U., elevated its prestige among the toiling masses and created all the conditions for the flowering of socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R.

The idologues of imperialism and enemies of socialism and enemies of socialism are trying to divert the workers of their countries from the goal of socialism by trying to prove that the cult of personality with all the consequences, is something inherent in the social and political system of socialism. In reality, however, the cult of personality is in profound contradiction with the Soviet Socialist system with the theory of Marxism-Leninism. This is the reason why the Communist Party has started on its own initiative a resolute struggle for the liquidation of the personality cult and its consequences.

It is incontestable that the cult of pesonality of Stalin, his errors in the last period of his life, have been a retarding force in the development of Soviet Society, without, however, being able to change the nature of Soviet Society.

The people of the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Parties of all countries have approved and supported the decisions of the Twentieth Party Congress which outlined the programme of building of communism and of continuously enhancing and enriching the life of the workers, which indicated the line of struggle in order to maintain and consolidate peace, to strengthen the unity of socialist countries and to make ever more stronger fraternal relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries.

The decisions of the Twentieth Congress have revealed the harm which the cult of personality of Stalin has brought to the Party, the State, and have indicated ways of eliminating its consequences.

Name of Stalin Inseparable from Marxism--Leninism

Stalin has long occupied a leading position in the Central Committee of the Communist Party. All his activity is linked with the realisation of great socialist changes in the Soviet country. The Communist Party and the Soviet people remember and respect Stalin. His name is inseparable from Marxism-Leninism and it will be a gross historical distortion to extend the errors committed by Stalin during the last period of his life to all the long years of his activity as leader of the Party and the State.

The campaign started by the imperialist reactionaries against 'Stalinism', which they have themselves invented, as in reality a campaign against the revolutionary workers' movement.

The outbursts of revisionists against 'Stalinism' are similarly, in essence, a form of struggle against the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

U.S. CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Kung Pu-sheng

Under the leadership of the great Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, in a bitter struggle lasting almost 30 years, overthrew the rule of the imperialists, feudal lords and bureaucratic capital. The Chinese people have put an end to the shameful semi-colonial, semi-feudal past. In place of an oppressed and enslaved country, they have established the Chinese People's Republic, in which they are the sole masters.

Now that the three-year rehabilitation period and the First Five-Year Plan have been successfully completed it is obvious to everybody that People's China stands firmly on its feet and that there is no power on earth that can prevent its rapid and confident advance along the road to becoming a mighty socialist power with modern industries and progressive agriculture. That New China is developing and growing stronger is an undeniable fact : such is the inevitable course of historical development.

The Chinese People's Republic is a socialist State : its foreign policy is and must be a policy contributing to world peace and friendly co-existence between all nations. Since its very inception People's China has established relations of a new type, close relations based on fraternal, international solidarity, mutual assistance and co-operation with all the countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It has also established friendly relations with many Asian and African countries, as well as normal diplomatic relations with some West European countries. The famous five principles of peaceful co-existence, formulated by the Premiers of China and India in June 1954, were welcomed by the peoples of Asia and Africa and by all the socialist countries. Today many other countries have voiced their approval of these principles and regard them as general principles regulating relations between nations.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954 and at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian-African countries in 1955, China's stand made an important contribution to peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Despite the intrigues of the U.S. ruling circles, hostile to People's China, it has established during its eight-year existence official diplomatic relations with 27 countries and semi-official diplomatic relations with two others : China maintains commercial relations with 68 countries and cultural relations and friendly contacts

with 101 countries and areas. This is evidence of the fact that People's China is not isolated. Despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism, China has numerous friends in all parts of the world.

The fact that New China is constantly developing and is growing ever stronger has forced even the rulers of the U.S. to realize that they will never be able to destroy it and that their insane dreams of helping Chiang Kai-shek organize a counter-offensive against the mainland will never come to anything. More and more countries are coming round to see that People's China must be recognized. The United States is no longer able to check this tendency ; it is also becoming more and more difficult for them to prevent the Chinese People's Republic from regaining its rightful place in the United Nations. U.S. policy towards China is meeting with growing opposition both in the U.S. and abroad. Its continuance must inevitably lead to the further isolation of the U.S.

The U.S. rulers, however, show no intention of renouncing their aggressive policy of maintaining their hold on Taiwan as a threat to New China and peace in the Far East. In view of their difficulties the U.S. rulers are seeking a way out of the deadlock into which their bankrupt policy towards China has led them. They are now hunting for ways of creating 'two Chinas' as a means of alienating Taiwan from China and perpetuating their rule of the Island. This act of sabotage is a deep-laid political conspiracy. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and will not allow the U.S. to carry out its intentions. All the friends of peace must be exceedingly vigilant with regard to these U.S. attempts to create 'two Chinas'.

I

In their efforts to prepare the way for the creation of 'two Chinas.' U.S.—sponsored politicians and propagandists are seeking any sort of 'theoretical' justification, no matter how absurd, for arguments that Taiwan does not belong to China. It is obvious that the political cardsharers must have an 'ace' of this sort, since there can be no question of 'two Chinas' once it is admitted that Taiwan belongs to China. Some of them, in an excess of zeal, have gone so far as to distort the facts of history. They insist that Taiwan has never belonged to China but has always been 'independent territory'. When this lie proved ineffective in the light of the Cairo Declaration which clearly refers to the return of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to China, the politicians began to deny the legality of the Cairo Declaration and to invent a new story to the effect that 'Taiwan's status has not been fully defined.' They asserted that the Cairo Declaration is a political statement that has not been given legal form and cannot, therefore, have any legal force.

According to another version, the Cairo Declaration is not applicable because of the considerable changes which have since taken place in the world situation. Those who support this version draw their arguments from the articles of the Japanese Peace Treaty that was separately concluded by the United States. According to the Treaty, they say, Japan foresees all rights and claims to the regions she relinquishes under the Treaty (including Taiwan), while the final status of those territories is not defined.

In the light of this, a number of 'viewpoints' are put forward. One of them is that, from September 1, 1945 sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to the U.N. since it passed to the countries that accepted Japan's capitulation. Others propose that Taiwan's status be determined by a plebiscite, that U.N. trusteeship be established or some other form be found. The present U.S. State Secretary, Dulles, for example, announced cynically at the meeting of the Political Committee of the 5th Session of the General Assembly on November 27, 1950, that "it should be borne in mind that Formosa is still of international interest as a former Japanese colony the status of which is still undecided. Considering the tremendous military efforts and the great sacrifices made by the U.S. in that area, it is only natural that the U.S. should have some voice in the determination of the future of Formosa."

The falseness and absurdity of such an assertion is so obvious that we could have passed it over in silence. Taiwan has always been part of Chinese territory—this is an historical fact that cannot be refuted by any inventions. However, since such inventions may mislead those who are not acquainted with the true state of affairs, it will not be out of place to give a brief summary of the facts.

The Chinese set foot on Taiwan long ago, 900 years before Columbus discovered America. The mass migration of Chinese to Taiwan began in the 9th Century. In the 14th century, at the time of the Yuan dynasty, the Chinese Government set up a 'board of inspection' on the island as a local government body. For more than 500 years after this Taiwan administratively formed part of the Chinese province of Fukien. In 1887, the Chiang Government of China turned Taiwan into an independent province on account of its growing importance for the defence of the country from the sea; it was then subordinated directly to the Chinese Central Government. It, therefore, follows that up to the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 China had for many centuries had an effective sovereignty over Taiwan.

Of the more than eight million inhabitants of the island today 98 per cent are Han, that is, Chinese by nationality. The majority of them originally came from the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. They speak the local Chinese dialects—Southern Fukien and

Kwangtung (Kochia)*—and their culture is purely Chinese. Two per cent of the population of the island are Kaoshan† and, like all others are one of the national minorities of China. Politically, culturally and nationally, therefore, Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory. This indisputable historical fact cannot be refuted by any of the verbal declarations of political jugglers who have only their own selfish aims in view. Later, when the rotten and inept Ching government lost the war with Japan as a result of its treacherous policy and on April 17, 1895, signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Taiwan, that rich and beautiful Chinese district, was seized by Japan.

The Heads of Government of the U.S.A., China and Great Britain recognised in the Cairo Declaration the fact that Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory and that Japanese rule in Taiwan was the result of the predatory seizure of Chinese territory. They declared that "it is their purpose that.....all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formusa and the pescadores,‡ shall be restored to the Republic of China".

On December 24, 1943, the then President of the U.S., Franklin D Roosevelt, speaking on the radio about the signing of the Cairo Declaration, explained that its principles were "as simple as they are fundamental. They involved the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners." In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which had as its object the acceleration of Japan's capitulation, China, the U.S.A. and Great Britain again stated that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out." The first paragraph of the terms of capitulation signed on September 2 that same year by China, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the U.S.A., Australia, Canada, France, Holland and New Zealand, on the one hand, and Japan, on the other, again laid down that Japan accepted all the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

The fact that Taiwan should be returned to its motherland has, therefore, been confirmed by a number of international agreements. It is still more important to bear in mind that these international documents were signed and published by all interested states, including the U.S., and, therefore, became obligatory rules of international law that should have been respected by all countries in their post-war relations. It follows, therefore, that attempts to show that the Cairo Declaration is without legal force are nothing more than a breach of international obligations.

Historical facts also tell us that on October 25, 1945, Taiwan was officially returned to China in accordance with the Cairo and

*One of the local Kuangtung dialects.

†Descendents of the aborigines of Taiwan.

‡North-eastern China, Taiwan, and the Penghu Islands

Potsdam Declarations. On that day, Chen Yi,* who had been appointed by the Chinese Government to accept the capitulation of the Japanese on Taiwan presided over the ceremony at which the capitulation of Japanese troops on the island was accepted and announced over the radio to the whole world : "Today Taiwan and the Penghu Islands have been officially reunited with China".

Actually, until June 1950 not one country, not one single statesman in the world—including the U.S. Government and its leaders—in any way doubted either the legal basis or the fact Taiwan's return to China. Today, certain official personages and 'theoreticians' in the U.S. in their efforts to justify U.S. acts of aggression on Taiwan are so inconsistent that it may be worthwhile to remind them of some of the facts.

In the White Paper United States Relations with China Published by U.S. State Department in August, 1949 it is said : "By the terms of the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, the United States and China declared their intention that Formosa should be restored to China. In September 1945 the administration of the island was taken over from the Japanese by Chinese forces.....The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore, welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been the union with the mainland" (pp. 307-308).

On January 5, 1950, Harry Truman, the then President of the U.S., said : "...For the past four years the United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island...The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any Chinese territory. The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China."

On January, 5 1950, Dean Acheson, the then U.S. Secretary of State, explaining the above statement of Truman, said that the Chinese people had been governing Taiwan for four years. The U.S. and its allied had never disputed this as China's right and did not protect against the occupation of the island by China. When Taiwan was declared a province of China nobody raised any legal objections.

Such were the statements official spokesmen of the U.S. Government, American statesmen. Only a little time has passed since then but certain gentlemen in the U.S. have begun to invent all sorts of reasons for denying that Taiwan belongs to China. This jumping from side to side is yet one more revelation of the aggressive character of the U.S. rulers who want to seize Taiwan.

*A Kuomintang general, and administrator of Taiwan during 1945-48. He died in 1949.

II

Among the hack-journalists who, on orders, are writing in support of the creation of 'two Chinas' are, of course, those who realize that attempts to deny China's right to Taiwan are without foundation in view of historical facts. They, consequently are trying to play on the feelings of those working for a relaxation of world tension and the recognition of New China and are putting forward equally foolish ideas that boil down to the following : we cannot turn our backs on reality. New China must be recognized, but at the same time Taiwan must also be recognized as a separate state.

Although there are number of different theories and formulations put forward by champions of this 'idea', they are, in essence, all the same—insofar as the Government of Chinese People's Republic and Chiang Kai-shek's regime of Taiwan are facts and since, in the foreseeable future, the Chinese People's Republic cannot liberate Taiwan nor Chiang Kai-shek continental China, the existing state of affairs must be recognized i.e., 'two Chinas'. They hypocritically maintain that such a solution would be to China's advantage, since the Chinese People's Republic would then be recognized by the United States, Sino American relations would become normal and world tension would be slackened. These people are allowing their imaginations to run away with them in making plans for the future." They propose that the 'two Chinas' should exist side by side — one will be called the Chinese People's Republic and the other the Republic of China. There are others who think that the Chinese People's Republic should speak in the name of China as it possesses an extensive territory, a big population and a tremendous potential, the island, they say, should become a separate State of Taiwan.

At the same time all sorts of plans are being drawn up for giving the 'two Chinas' their places in the United Nations. There are those who propose that the Chinese People's Republic should be given a place on the Security Council, while the Chiang Kai-shek clique should have a place in the General Assembly only, as an independent State of Taiwan. There are others who, on the contrary, insist that the Chiang Kai-shek gang, under the name of Chinese Republic, should remain on the Security Council and that the Chinese People's Republic as a new member of the U.S., should only be allowed to sit in the General Assembly. There is a third party that insists that the 'two Chinas' should both be confined to the General Assembly and that China's place on the Security Council should be given to some other Asian Power. There are also those who plan, as we have mentioned before, either to place Taiwan under U.N. trusteeship, or to decide its future by a plebiscite, etc. There is wide choice but all amount to the same thing — cutting Taiwan off from China and perpetuating the puppet regime that is turning Taiwan into a U.S. protectorate.

U.S.-sponsored politicians realize that U.S. policy in respect of China is on the verge of bankruptcy. They are worried because the 'tough policy' of the U.S. Government may lead them into a deadlock from which there is no way out. That is why they insist that a complete volteface be made immediately since the United States would then be able to negotiate favourable 'terms' in exchange for the recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and its admission to the U.N. The most important of these 'terms' is that New China should renounce here intention of liberating Taiwan and recognize its 'independence'. These gentlemen victims of an illusion if they assume that China is so anxious for American recognition and a place in the U.N. that it will not hesitate to trade away its sovereign rights and suffer national degradation. There are those who still do not understand that the Chinese People's Republic is never anxious for American recognition. Even if the U.S. does not recognize New China for 10, 15 or even 100 years it will not shake the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan and prevent the creation of 'two Chinas'.

Unfortunately, this misconceived theory of 'two Chinas' that the U.S. is putting about with the aim of enslaving Taiwan is misleading some people who may, probably, be motivated by good intention. They naturally realize that U.S. invasion of Taiwan is a source of tension in the Far East, they want to ease that tension but do not realize the full extent of U.S. intrigues or the danger of compromising with an aggressor. They under-estimate the strength of the Chinese people and the peoples of the world. They are looking for an easy way out and are using the slogan of 'realistic' politics to obtain a temporary solution to the problem by maintaining that status quo and compromising with the aggressor. They forget the lessons of Munich on the eve of the Second World War and also ignore the fact that New China, freed of the chains of slavery, is not an object for conquest. They do not understand that any toleration of the aggressor only serves to what his appetite and this the Chinese people cannot accept. If the ideas of the champions of 'two Chinas' were implemented they would not even ease, still less eliminate, tension in the Far East. They would, on the contrary, preserve the source of tension for a long period and would thus still more adversely affect the Far Eastern situation.

The Chinese people are realistic, they recognize facts. And what are the facts? The facts are the following: The Chinese people by revolution overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang Government that was rotten to the core, and formed the Chinese People's Republic. According to the generally accepted principles of international law, the Government of Chinese People's Republic is the successor to the former Government of the Chinese Republic and is the only law-

ful Government of China. As far as the relations between the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan are concerned, it is purely internal question in which no other country has the right to interfere. Any attempt to alienate from China part of her territory will meet with a resolute rebuff from the Chinese people and is doomed to failure. The Chinese people are determined to liberate their territory, the island of Taiwan.

These are the facts that are recognized by the Chinese people and by all peoples who defend the cause of peace and justice.

In recent times the following view point has been put forward at international conference and in international organizations : Since East and West Germany, North and South Korea and South Vietnam can participate in international conferences and organizations, why cannot 'two Chinas' participate side by side ? This approach to the problem confuses two completely different issues and is, therefore, without foundation. It is well-known that the situation which led to the formation of East and West Germany and North and South Korea resulted from the Second World War, and that the temporary division of Vietnam into North and South was recognized by the Geneva Conference.

Those who are acquainted with the history of the Second World War will, of course, remember that the Yalta Declaration of the U.S.S.R. the U.S.A. and Great Britain of February 11, 1945, the Agreement on the Control Machinery in Germany signed by the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. Great Britain and France of June 3, 1945, and the Potsdam Declaration of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, each in its own occupation zone -- should be invested with supreme power while Germany was fulfilling the chief requirements under the terms of her unconditional surrender. The lofty aim of this policy was the establishment of an independent, democratic peace-loving united Germany. It is only the obstacles erected by the U.S. and other Western Powers that have, for the 12 years elapsed since the war, prevented agreement on a peaceful solution of the German problem. This is the reason for the formation of two sovereign states on German territory, each of which is recognized by a number of other countries. This, too, is only a temporary situation since the German people are struggling tirelessly for the peaceful reunion of their country.

The present division of Korea results from an agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in 1945, during the Second World War, which determined the 38th parallel as the line of demarcation for operations by allied troops in Korea. In the summer of 1948, with the support of U.S. occupation authorities, Syngman Rhee's puppet Government was set up in South Korea. In September

the Korean People's Democratic Republic by means of general elections. When the Americans were repulsed they unleashed in 1950, an armistice agreement was signed between them was demarcated. Provision was also made for the peaceful reunion of Korea by means of an agreement to be concluded between all interested countries, including North and South Korea.

The present division of Vietnam also has causes of its own. In 1945, after a long struggle, the Vietnamese people drove out the Japanese invaders and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They were then victorious in the war launched by the French, colonialists who invaded Indo-China. In 1954, a conference was held in Geneva, at which the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were represented. The Geneva Conference established peace in Vietnam and approved an armistice agreement according to which, until the holding of a general election to reunite Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam authorities would administer the northern and southern regions of the country respectively, the frontier between them being along the 17th parallel. It was only the refusal of the U.S. and the South Vietnam authorities to fulfil the Geneva Agreement that prevented the holding of general elections in July 1956, as provided for in the agreement. Today the Vietnamese people are continuing their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The case with China is quite different. The Taiwan question is not one of those that remained unsettled after the Second World War. Taiwan belongs to China and has already been returned to China. The fact of the return of Taiwan to China was recognized by a number of states, including the U.S. It was only the interference of U.S. Government in Chinese internal affairs, the seizure of Taiwan by U.S. forces and their protection of the Chiang Kai-shek gang that have upto now prevented the liberation of Taiwan. If U.S. armed forces had not seized the island, the Taiwan problem would have been settled long ago.

Thus we see that U.S. attempts to put an internal Chinese problem on the same level as the temporary partition of Germany, Korea and Vietnam in order to hide their plans for the formation of 'two Chinas' will not stand up to any criticism.

U.S. political intrigues are not confined to the spreading of the clumsy theories described above. In the course of the Sino-American talks that have been going on in Geneva since August 1, 1955, between the two countries at ambassadorial level, the U.S.A. has been employing all sorts of tricks to compel China to recognize the existence of 'two Chinas'. In September 1955, after an agreement had been reached on the repatriation of citizens of both sides and the participants had begun to discuss the second item on the agenda, that

is, other practical disputes, the U.S. refused to withdraw its troops from Taiwan and at the same time insisted that China renounce the use of force in that region. This U.S. proposal amounted practically to a demand to recognize the further enslavement of Taiwan by the United States and its conversion into another 'China' as a protectorate of the U.S. The Chinese People's Republic naturally could not agree to that.

U.S. attempts to deceive China into recognizing the existence of 'two Chinas' met with the rebuff they deserved right from the very beginning.

Recently, U.S. ruling circles have, through their satellites and sometimes on their own behalf, been trying to create a situation in various international scientific cultural and other organizations that would permit the representation of 'two Chinas'. It will be remembered that the U.S. made use of this trick during the organization of the 16th Olympic Games in November 1956 and at the Conference of the Bureau of the Special Committee for the International Geophysical Year in June 1957. At first both these bodies invited the corresponding Chinese national organizations to take part in the work as full members of both these organisations. The Chinese national organisations began work on their contributions. Later, on U.S. instructions, both these bodies, violating their own statutes, also invited Taiwan. By so doing, they placed Taiwan and China on an equal footing. This could not but be firmly rejected by the Chinese Olympic Committee and the Chinese National Committee for the International Geophysical Year. Both Committees were compelled to leave the international organisations and cease their activities in them.

In these two cases the U.S. hid efforts to ensure the appearance of 'two Chinas' in the international organizations behind the backs of other delegations. At the recent 19th Conference of the International Red Cross—that is, an organisation founded to deal with humanitarian problems—the Americans came out openly to impose the idea of 'two Chinas'. The Chinese People's Government and the Chinese Red Cross Society sent their delegations to the conference. The U.S. delegate, disregarding the protests of other countries, impudently demanded the acceptance of his baseless proposal that delegates from the Chiang Kai-shek gang that has installed itself on Taiwan should be invited as representatives of the so-called Chinese Republic.

The U.S. delegate succeeded in getting his proposal accepted. The voting was 62 for, 44 against with 16 abstaining. Thirteen delegations did not participate in the voting. Thus, it turned out that there were actually less for the U.S. proposal than those disapproving of it. Immediately the U.S. proposal was accepted, the head of the

Chinese delegation announced that his delegation could not under any circumstances, tolerate U.S. intrigues designed to establish 'two Chinas', and left the conference. Madame Kaur, Chairman of the Conference and Head of the Indian Delegation, also left the hall accompanied by the whole delegation of the Indian Red Cross. They were followed by 30 more delegations—those of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries and 18 Asian and African countries. Such was the reply of China and of the countries that support her just position. The United States suffered a serious political and moral defeat.

Although U.S. attempts to set up 'two Chinas' are everywhere unsuccessful, it is not to be supposed that the U.S. rulers have dropped the idea. On the contrary, they will use every opportunity, either themselves, or through their followers, to prepare the ground for further attempts of this kind. This will be the general line of U.S. policy towards China. The struggle against any attempt to establish the theory of 'two Chinas', no matter where it be made, is, therefore, of the greatest importance. In addition to those countries and those politicians that willingly follow the lead of U.S. policy, there are those who support the idea of 'two Chinas' but who do not wish to stand in the way of China while at the same time not wanting to give offence to the U.S. The people believe that by means of a compromise, by an agreement on 'two Chinas', reconciliation is possible and one may sleep peacefully.

There are also well-meaning people who are mislead. They assume that if China can enter international organizations and participate in international conferences despite the intrigues of the U.S., it will facilitate China's struggle to drive out the illegal representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. This, however, is a dangerous road that the Chinese people cannot accept. Compromise with the aggressor can only serve the whet his appetite, and the participation in international conferences of representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, long since cast on the scarp heap of history by the Chinese people, alongside the true representatives of the Chinese people will not facilitate the struggle against 'two Chinas' but will, on the contrary, help to make the 'two Chinas' an established fact.

There is only one China in the world—the Chinese People's Republic, and Taiwan is only part of its territory. To assume that in addition to this China which represents the entire Chinese people some other 'China' can exist, is only to accept the bait offered by the United States which is so hostile to China. One of the two must be chosen. There is no middle way.

IV

Thus, we see that the Chinese Government and the Chinese people have adopted a firm and unchanging position in their struggle against U.S. attempts to create 'two Chinas.' The fact that it is

impossible for the Chinese People's Republic to participate in any international conference or organization cannot make it recognize the seizure of Taiwan by the United States as legal. Nor will the Chinese people allow the appearance of a second 'China' at any international conference, or in any international organization in which representatives of the Chinese People's Republic participate. China will not participate in any international conference, organization or undertaking in which representatives of the Taiwan local authorities are participating, no matter what name they may call themselves—Chinese republic, Taiwan Government, Taiwan authorities or anything else. The fact that People's China will be temporarily prevented from participating in international conferences organizations and undertakings in which it could otherwise have participated will not cause it the slightest loss. On the contrary, the loss will be that of the conferences, organizations and undertakings that cannot have the importance they would have with the participation of 600 million Chinese.

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic, in his speech at the 3rd Session of the First National People's Congress on June 28, 1956 said, "Interanational organisation and conferences are only one means of effecting international exchanges and contacts. China will not find it any more difficult to expand its contacts and connections with other countries because of its being excluded from international organisations and conferences." Although the Chinese People's Republic is temporarily deprived of the possibility of participating in such organizations, conferences and undertakings, it is successfully developing politically, economically and culturally and the 600 million Chinese, people do not live badly; as hitherto, they will take an active part, in various ways, in international life and make their contribution to the cause of peace by participating in regional measures and by effecting bilateral and multilateral contacts.

New China is taking giant steps forward along the road of progress. The time when U.S. could do as it wished with China has gone for ever. Nor will the Americans ever be able to implement their plans for the creation of 'two Chinas'. The just struggle of the Chinese people against U.S. attempts to enslave Taiwan and create 'two Chinas' enjoys the fraternal support of their great ally, the Soviet Union, and all other socialist countries. This struggle also enjoys the powerful support, and has earned the friendly sympathy, of our great neighbour India and of a number of Asian and African countries. No matter how cunning the United States may be in its efforts to seize Taiwan, the Chinese people are able to recognize, expose and defeat its plans. As these U.S. plans are exposed an ever-growing number of countries will realize their significance and will raise their voices in protest. There can be no doubt that the increased efforts of U.S. to get the 'two Chinas' recognized will end in failure, in the same way as all their past aggressive intrigues against China have failed.

U.S. ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST TAIWAN

Speech at the United Nations Security Council by Wu Hsiu-Chuan, Special Representative of the People's Republic of China to the U.N. Condemning U.S. Armed Aggression Against Taiwan

November 28, 1950

Mr. President, Member of the Security Council :

On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, on behalf of the 475 million people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against Chinese territory of Taiwan-including the Penghu Islands. I wish to invite the attention of the members of the Security Council to this fact. This is my concrete mission here. I have brought with me the original text of the telegraphic reply of November 11 sent by the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of China, Chou En-lai, to Secretary General Lie. At the end of that cable it is stated :

In view of the gravity of the two questions of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against Chinese Taiwan by the United States Government, and in view of the fact that the two questions are closely related, it would be most proper that the Security Council combine the discussion of the accusation raised by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against armed aggression on Taiwan by the United States Government with the discussion of the question of armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government, so that the representative of the People's Republic of China, when attending the meetings of the Security Council to discuss the complaint against armed aggression on Taiwan, may raise, at the same time, the accusation against armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government.

But Item 'B' on the agenda of the Security Council does not conform with the cable of Chou-En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. There is not the slightest resemblance between these two, and for this reason the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will of

course not participate in the discussion of Item 'B' on the agenda, the so-called complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea. Now I shall continue with the substance of my speech.

The charge of aggression against Taiwan brought against the United States Government by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should have been lodged by the delegate of the People's Republic of China to the Security Council as a permanent member of the Security Council. But owing to manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China have been and still are excluded from the United Nations. Therefore, I must first of all protest to the United Nations for allowing the so-called delegate of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique to sit unashamedly here in our midst even at this date, professing to be representing the Chinese people. Members of the Security Council ! This is a state of affairs that the Chinese people simply cannot tolerate.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on the occasion of the establishment of the Government on October 1, 1949, solemnly declared to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government representing all the people of China.

The tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past year in military, economic, political and cultural construction have eloquently proved to the world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government representing the Chinese people.

The Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, which oppose the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has long ceased to exist on the mainland of China. In the more than four years of war since the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique launched a full-scale civil war in July 1946 with the support of the United States Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has put out of action 8,070,000 men of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary armies and liberated all the territories of China except Tibet and Taiwan.

During the past year, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has united all our people in various walks of life, has established local Government at every level throughout the country and has effectively controlled the mainland of China.

The Central People's Government, as the Government of all China, is unprecedented in Chinese history in that it is unified, stable and supported by the people. Even the enemies of the Chinese people cannot but admit this fact.

Furthermore, the Kuomintang reactionary Government has long since collapsed and ceased to exist. Even its remnant elements have also been driven out of the mainland of China by the Chinese people. It is only due to the armed protection of the United States that they still maintain their precarious existence on Taiwan. But they have long been renounced by the Chinese people and have no longer any grounds, de jure or de facto, to pretend to represent the Chinese people.

The so-called delegates sent to the United Nations by the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are nothing but the personal tools of a handful of fugitives who will soon be entirely eliminated. They have no qualifications whatsoever to represent the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou-En-lai of the People's Republic of China has demanded repeatedly that the United Nations expel the so-called delegates of Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from all the organs and meetings of the United Nations and admit the delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. But until now, in spite of the vigorous support of the U.S.S.R. and other countries for the seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the affirmative votes of 16 member states of the United Nations (the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Bycio-Russia, the Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Norway), and owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the United Nations still refuses to admit our lawful delegates. As a result, the so-called delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still sitting in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. Against this, we cannot but lodge a grave protest.

Members of the Security Council ! It would like to remind you that so long as the United Nations presists in denying admittance to a permanent member of the Security Council who represents 475 million people, it cannot make lawful decisions on any major issues or solve any major problems, particularly those which concern Asia. Indeed, without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, representing 475 million people, the United Nations cannot in practice be worthy of its name. Without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have no reason to recognise any resolutions or decisions of the United Nations.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I once more demand that the United Nations expel the so-called delegates of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique and admit the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China.

* * *

Members of the Security Council will recall that Foreign Minister Chou En-lai on August 24, lodged with the United Nations Security Council a charge that the United States Government had committed armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan. But the United States Government used every means to obstruct discussion of this just accusation by the Security Council. It was only owing to the just efforts of the Soviet delegate who was President of the Security Council during August and to the support of the delegates of other countries that the charge of armed aggression in Taiwan brought by the People's Republic of China against the United States has now been placed on the agenda of the Security Council, although because of the opposition of the United States it was given its present imperfect form as the 'complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan (Formosa)'.

After instigating the Syngman Rhee puppet Government of South Korea to start civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States made a statement on June 27 this year in which he declared that the United States Government had decided to prevent by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, United States armed forces, on the orders of President Truman, began a full-scale, open invasion of Taiwan to carry out the United States Government's policy of preventing by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in a statement issued on June 28 1950, pointed out that the June 27 statement by President Truman of the United States together with the actions of the United States armed forces constituted armed aggression against Chinese territory and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. The Chinese people cannot tolerate such barbaric, illegal and criminal acts of aggression by the United States Government.

Members of the Security Council ! The case for the charge filed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States Government is irrefutable.

Even moderately well-informed people know that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Long before Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already

in Taiwan. Long before the United States achieved its independence, Taiwan had already become an inseparable part of the territory of China. Precisely because of this irrevocable historical fact that Taiwan is China's territory, the civilized nations of the world have never considered as justifiable the occupation of Taiwan by imperialist Japan during the 50-year period from 1895 to 1945. Moreover, the people of Taiwan have always opposed the rule of Japanese imperialism. During the 50 years under Japanese imperialist rule, the people in Taiwan lived like beasts of burden and underwent all the bitterness of subjugation. But during these 50 years, the people in Taiwan never ceased to carry on a dauntless struggle against the alien rule of Japanese imperialism, and for a return to the motherland. In their heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, the people in Taiwan wrote with blood and fire into the pages of history the fact that they are a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. Even the White Paper, United States' Relations with China, compiled by the United States Department of State, had to admit :

The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and, therefore, welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been reunion with the mainland. (United States' Relations with China, p. 308).

Precisely because Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, the Cairo Declaration, jointly signed on December 1, 1943, by the governments of China, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, explicitly stipulates that "it is their (the three great Powers'—Ed.) purpose—that all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Taiwan is an integral part of China. Not only is this an incontrovertible historical fact, but its recovery was one of the main aims for which the Chinese people united in the fight against imperialist Japan. This aim was reflected in the above-mentioned Cairo Declaration. The Cairo Declaration, moreover, is a solemn international commitment which the United States Government has pledged itself to observe. As one of the principal provisions applying to the unconditional surrender of Japan, this solemn international commitment was again laid down in the Potsdam Declaration which was jointly signed on July 26, 1945, by China, the United States and Great Britain, and which was subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union. Article 8 of the Potsdam Declaration states :

The terms of Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

On September 2, 1945, Japan signed the Instrument of Surrender, the first article of which explicitly provided that Japan accept the "provisions set forth in the declaration issued by the Heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on 26th July 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." When the Chinese Government accepted the surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan and established sovereignty over the island, Taiwan became not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, an inalienable part of Chinese territory. And this has been the situation as regards Taiwan since 1945. Hence, during the five postwar years 1945 to June 27, 1950, no one ever questioned the fact that Taiwan, *de jure* and *de facto*, is an inseparable part of Chinese territory.

This state of affairs was so clear that even President Truman of the United States had to admit on January 5, 1950 :

.....In the joint declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China. The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The provisions of the Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender...and for the past four years the United States and the other allied powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory...Nor does it have any intention of utilising its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The U.S. Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

That is to say, even President Truman admitted that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

Thus, it can be seen that there is no room for the slightest doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Nevertheless, the United States Government has had the audacity to declare its decision to use armed force to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and to dispatch its armed forces in a large-scale, open invasion of Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council ! The fact that the United States used armed forces to invade Taiwan requires no investigation, because the United States Government itself has openly admitted this fact. In announcing the afore mentioned decision President Truman

ordered the United States Seventh Fleet to invade our territorial waters around Taiwan. Since then, the United States Government has never denied the fact that the United States Seventh Fleet invaded Chinese territory of Taiwan. The United States armed forces have not only invaded Chinese territory of Taiwan, but have also violated China's territorial waters and territorial air along our coast-line, where they have been conducting active reconnaissance and patrols. According to a dispatch filed by the 'New York Herald Tribune' correspondent to Taipeh on July 24, "The Fleet has a beat extending from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China, a 1,000-mile coastline.....". At the same time, the United States Government has never denied the invasion of Taiwan by the United States 13th Air Force. These United States naval and air units which invaded Taiwan, jointly with the United States aggression forces in Korea, have extended and are still extending their acts of aggression beyond Taiwan to the territorial waters and territorial air of China's mainland. I shall deal further with these facts later.

Having declared and put into operation the policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, President Truman sent General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, to Taiwan to confer clandestinely with Chiang-Kai-shek on concrete measures for using Taiwan as a base to wage war against the Chinese people. MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek decided that the land, naval and air forces of the United States and those of Chiang Kai-shek should be placed under the unified command of MacArthur for the 'joint defence' of Taiwan. On his departure from Taiwan for Japan on August 1, MacArthur openly declared: "Arrangements have been completed for effective co-ordination between the American forces under my command and those of the Chinese Government" (the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique). And this is what Chiang Kai-shek said, "Agreement has been reached between General MacArthur and myself on all the problems discussed in the series of conferences held in the past two days. The foundation for a joint defence of Taiwan and for Sino-American military co-operation has thus been laid." In league with its puppet, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the United States Government, which has invaded and occupied Taiwan, thus casts the gauntlet of war before the Chinese people.

Long before June 27, this year, the United States Government, through its puppet, had already carried out all kinds of aggressive activities against Taiwan, including acts of armed aggression. Now, as a matter of fact, the United States Government is more reckless than ever. The United States 13th Air Force has already established an 'Advanced Command Headquarters in Formosa' (according to a Taipeh broadcast on August 10), which is operating at the air force headquarters of the Kuomintang bogus regime (according to a broadcast from Taipeh on August 7). The United States Seventh Fleet has set up a 'naval liaison staff' in Taiwan (according to a Taipeh

United Press dispatch datelined July 24). In order to facilitate unified command of its naval and air aggression forces in Taiwan, the United States Government has sent an official military mission there, called 'the United States Far East Command Survey Group in Formosa.' This 'survey group' was reportedly recalled to Japan on October 3 and to all appearances seemed to have been disbanded. But everyone knows that this is nothing but an attempt at deception on the part of the United States Government. The United States armed forces, their commanding officers and military command posts are still there in Taiwan.

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States Government constitutes an act of open, direct armed aggression against China by the United States Government.

There is not the slightest justification for the United States Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Yet the United States Government had somehow to find a 'justification' for the aggression. Hence came the story that "the status of Taiwan is not yet determined," and that, therefore, the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States cannot be regarded as invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by the United States. Is not this the claim of 'justification'? Did not President Truman declare at the time of issuing the order for armed aggression against Taiwan that "The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations"?

Let us first deal with the question of the status of Taiwan and the peace treaty with Japan. Does it make sense to say that, since the status of Taiwan is not yet determined, the invasion of Taiwan by United States armed force does not constitute aggression against China? No, it does not. Here we have, in the first place, the Truman of January 5, 1950, contradicting the Truman of June 27, 1950. On January 5, this year, Truman stated, "the United States and the other allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island." Surely, at that time, Mr. Truman did not consider that the peace treaty with Japan had already been signed. Then, we can cite President Roosevelt against Truman. On December 1, 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared in the Cairo Declaration that "all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China." Surely, neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else at that time considered that, in the absence of a peace treaty with Japan, the Cairo Declaration would be invalid, and that Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would remain in the possession of Japan! The facts of history

over the past several centuries and the surrender of Japan also contradict Truman, because both have long determined the status of Taiwan as an integral part of China. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago ; there is no such question as that of Taiwan's status.

Article 107 of the United Nations Charter clearly provides : "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any State which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action." Therefore, the United Nations has absolutely no right to alter the status of Taiwan, the less so since the question of the status of Taiwan does not exist.

President Truman of the United States declared that the so-called question of the status of Taiwan must await consideration by the United Nations. After the People's Republic of China had charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan before the United Nations, the United States Government indicated that it would welcome consideration and investigation by the United Nations in regard to the question of Taiwan. The United States representatives at the Fifth United Nations General Assembly introduced the so-called Question of Formosa and made use of the U.S. voting machine in the General Assembly to put this matter on the agenda. All these moves of the United States Government aim at usurping the name of the United Nations to legalise its illegal acts of armed aggression against Taiwan and to consolidate its actual occupation of Taiwan.

My government has protested in strong terms to the United Nations General Assembly, resolutely opposing the inclusion of the so-called Question of Formosa concerning the status of Taiwan on the agenda of the General Assembly. Whatever decision the United Nations General Assembly may take on the so-called question of the status of Taiwan--whether it be turning over the island to the United States to administer openly under the guise of 'trusteeship' or 'neutralisation' or whether it be procrastinating by way of 'investigation,' thereby maintaining the present state of actual occupation by the United States—it will in substance mean stealing China's legitimate territory and supporting United States aggression against Taiwan in opposition to the Chinese people. Any such decision will be unjustifiable and unlawful. Any such decision will in no way shake the resolve of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, nor will it prevent action by the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan.

I wish to remind all those countries which are prepared to follow the United States on this question : Do not be taken in by the United States ; do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the

United States—because if you support United States aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago. The question of the status of Taiwan simply does not exist.

However, one question does exist regarding Taiwan, that is the question of armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan. Therefore, to argue that because the peace treaty with Japan is yet to be concluded the status of Taiwan remains undermined and must await consideration by the United Nations—to argue thus is to make a mockery of history, of realities, of human intelligence, of international agreements. To argue thus is to make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. This is a preposterous force, unworthy of refutation, in which Truman makes a mockery of Truman himself.

Next, I would like to say a few words about the absurd argument that United States aggression against Taiwan has as its aim the safeguarding of security in the Pacific. The United States Government has persistently circulated a fabrication to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a 'temporary measure' arising from the Korean war and is intended to 'localize' the Korean war and safeguard security in the Pacific. Therefore, according to the United States Government, "the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific."

The civil war in Korea was created by the United States. But in no sense whatsoever can the civil war in Korea be used as a justification or pretext of United States aggression against Taiwan. Members of the Security Council ! Can we conceive of a situation in which, because of a civil war in Spain, Italy would become entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica ? Can we conceive of a civil war in Mexico conferring upon Great Britain the right to occupy the State of Florida in the United States ? Such things are utterly absurd and inconceivable. In fact, the United States Government's policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, no less than its policy of armed aggression against Korea, was decided upon long before the United States created the civil war in Korea. Six days before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, that is, on June 19, 1950, the 'New York Times' wrote in an editorial :

It would seem, then, that the retention of bases for defending Japan was imperative. On the other hand, the old idea of three or four related isolatively bases is, of course, nonsense...

It may well be for reasons such as these that General MacArthur is, according to recent reports, ready to urge a co-ordinated defence pattern for the whole of the Western Pacification and not merely for Japan alone. This revives the question of what should or can be done about Formosa. There

is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the island can be held and that, although it is late, it is not too late...

An vigorous defence programme, on a regional basis would, therefore, involve political decisions of the first order. It could require a reversal of our position on Formosa.

An item in the 'New York Post' on June, 27 went further to

Before Johnson and Bradley went to Japan, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed upon a Far Eastern Policy including the following two points :

1. No peace treaty with Japan for the next five years.
2. Adoption of all measures to prevent Formosa from falling into Communist hands.

A dispatch from Tokyo in the 'New York Herald Tribune' of June 25 vividly revealed the specific details of this decision :

A firm stand by the United States on Formosa would, according to Supreme Headquarters, have a 90 per cent chance of deterring Communist invasion because the Chinese themselves are not ready for a head-on tilt with American power --

Headquarter officials believe that the Communists could be deterred from even starting an attack on Formosa if swift action were taken along about the following lines :

A strong public pronouncement should be made by the United States that in the light of Soviet participation in Chinese military preparations and in the light of changed world conditions, the final disposition of Formosa—which was a former Japanese possession—must await a Japanese peace treaty. Until a treaty has been concluded, Formosa would be under American or United Nations jurisdiction. This pronouncement should be coupled with the dispatch of a large-scale military mission to Formosa with a limited supply of equipment. The amount of aid would be comparable to that given the Greek Government in its fight against the guerillas. There have also been suggestions that the military mission should be supplemented by a show of naval strength. One officer contended that the presence of a single aircraft carrier would certainly deter the Communists from attacking for a long time to come.

No further evidence on this point would appear necessary. Such important accounts of the aggressive designs of the United States Government have never been refused by the United States Government and therefore, must be accepted as reliable. What we have quoted above is already sufficient to show that the United States Government had decided upon its policy of armed aggression against

Taiwan long before it created the war in Korea. Even the concrete steps to be taken in executing this policy, such as the issuance of a strong pronouncement, a show of naval strength, the dispatch of military missions, etc., had been decided upon. The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Vietnam and in the Philippines.

Clearly, in carrying out aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan under the pretext of a Korean civil war of its own making, the United States Government has vastly extended the scale of the Korean war. The series of provocations by the United States armed forces following the aggression against Korea and Taiwan has proved this fully. The United States Government is carrying the flames of aggressive war to China according to plan.

Far from localizing the Korean war, this is, on the contrary, extending it. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localizing the Korean war. The Chinese people also hope fervently for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

Who has been extending the Korean war ? Who has shattered security in the Pacific ? Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the United States or have United States armed forces invaded Taiwan of China ? As everyone knows, there are no Chinese forces between Hawaii and the United States mainland. It is precisely because the United States concurrently committed aggression against Taiwan that the Korean war has been vastly extended. It is precisely because the United States armed forces traversed 5,000 miles ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered. It is the United States armed aggression launched under the pretext of 'maintaining security in the Pacific' that has shattered the security of the Pacific. All the deceptions and lies that have been repeated too many times by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Austin and the like, to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a 'temporary measure' arising from the Korean war, aimed at 'localizing' the Korean war, and 'maintaining security in the Pacific,' etc.—all such deceptions and lies are outweighed by a few voluntary confessions of General MacArthur.

In his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on August 28, General MacArthur flagrantly admitted that the United States regarded Taiwan as 'the centre' of the United States Pacific front, 'an unsinkable aircraft carrier,' and the United States must control Taiwan in order to be able to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore."

From this it can readily be seen that the United States armed aggression against Taiwan is definitely not any sort of 'temporary measure' arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided upon long before the civil war in Korea was created. This United States armed aggression was directed towards vastly extending the Korean war and not towards 'localizing' it, towards seeking to 'dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore' and not towards any such aim as 'maintaining security in the Pacific.' This United States armed aggression has outrageously shattered security in the Pacific.

Further, the United States Government perversely argues that United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan was designed to effect the 'military neutralization' of Taiwan. The United States Government attempted to use this hypocritical slogan as its 'justification' for armed aggression against Taiwan in order to deceive the people all over the world, particularly the American people. But the people in the United States and throughout the whole world clearly understood that the liberation of Taiwan, which the Chinese people are determined to carry out, is entirely China's domestic affair, and that no deceptive slogans can conceal the fact that this action on the part of the United States Government constitutes armed intervention in China's domestic affairs.

Let the American people pause to consider : Should another country dispatch its navy somewhere between Hawaii and the United States mainland divide up American territory and prevent the United States Government from exercising sovereignty there, while at the same time alleging that such action has been taken for the military neutralization of Hawaii so as to safeguard security in the Pacific—should another country do all these things, would the American people tolerate it ?

Let the American people further pause to consider : At the time when President Lincoln was mopping up the remnant forces of the Southern slave owners, if a foreign power had suddenly stepped in and occupied the State of Virginia by armed force, while alleging that this was designed for the military neutralization of Virginia so as to safeguard the security of the American continent—if a foreign power did all this, would not the American people consider that it was flagrantly intervening in the domestic affairs of the United States ? Would not the American people consider this as armed occupation of the territory of the United States ?

The armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the United States Government is an act of aggression in that it is flagrant intervention in China's domestic affairs and armed occupation of Chinese

territory. It is an open and wanton act of provocation against all the 475 million Chinese people. The Chinese people cannot tolerate this unlawful and criminal act of direct, armed aggressive war against China by the United States Government. Neither will the American people, in our belief, approve of such criminal provocation. This is because such action on the part of the United States Government is also detrimental to the interests of the American people. Can there be a single one of the peace-loving American people who is willing to serve as cannon-fodder and to die just because his government has decided to invade Taiwan which is 5,000 miles away from America ?

The outrageous act of the United States Government in committing unjustified armed aggression against Taiwan has roused the indignation of all decent people in the world. No lies or deceptions concerning the 'future status' of Taiwan can dispel this indignation. As a result, the United States Government has been compelled to resort to even bigger lies in order to cover up its outrageous aggression. On July 19, the President of the United States said in his message to Congress :

In order that there may be no doubt in any quarter about our intentions regarding Formosa, I wish to state that the United States has no territorial ambitions whatever concerning that Island, nor do we seek for ourselves any special position or privilege on Formosa.

Member of the Security Council ! We Chinese are a people accustomed 'to listening to words and observing deeds.' The United States armed forces have invaded the territory of China, Taiwan. Yet the President of the United States asserts that the United States Government harbours no territorial ambitions concerning Taiwan. Shall we believe the 'words' of the United States Government ? Or its 'deeds' ?

Here we have a situation where, having invaded another country's, territory, the aggressor states he has no territorial ambitions on that territory. What, then, is meant by 'territorial ambitions'? Let him not make a mockery of the common sense of humanity. The supreme manifestation of territorial ambitions towards any particular state surely is the invasion of its territory. This action of the United States armed forces on invading Taiwan eloquently proves that the United States not only harbours territorial ambitions towards China's territory, Taiwan, but is already realizing them. The real intention of the United States is, as MacArthur has confessed, to convert Taiwan into the centre of the United States Pacific front for the purpose of dominating every Asiatic Port from Vladivostok to Singapore.

In his letter of August 25, to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Austin, the United States delegate to the United Nations, stated : "The United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor has the United States taken aggressive acts against China" very well. Where, then, have the United States Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force gone ? Can it be that they have gone to the planet Mars ? No the United States Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force have not gone elsewhere. They are in Taiwan. Can it be that what is referred to as the Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force are without doubt the Seventh Fleet of the United States and the 13th Air Force of the United States. Then where is the point at issue ?

Can there be any aggressive act on earth more outrageous than that of invasion and occupation of another country's territory ? It was only such fascist regimes as the German and the Japanese which did not admit that the invasion and occupation of China's Manchuria or the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia were acts of aggression. Members of the Security Council ! We cannot tolerate this kind of trickery by the United States Government. We all live in a real world. And we are living after the victory of the anti-fascist war. No amount of sophistry, lies and fabrication can alter the iron-clad fact that the United States armed forces have committed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council ! The armed aggression of the United States Government on our territory Taiwan, is not accidental. It is the inevitable consequence of the United States Government's policy of aggression against China, of interfering in China's internal affairs, and seeking exclusive domination over China--United States imperialist policy of long standing.

In the entire history of China's foreign relations, notwithstanding the fact that the peoples of the United States and China have always maintained friendly relations the American imperialists have always, in their relations with China, been the cunning aggressors. The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always been the enemies of the Chinese people. However, shamelessly the American imperialists may claim to be friends of the Chinese people, the historical record which distinguishes friend from foe cannot be altered.

Before the Second World War, because of the head-start gained by other imperialists in China, the American imperialists adopted what was known as the policy of the 'Open Door' and 'Equal Opportunity,' which, though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with other imperialists.

After the Second World War, mainly because of the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the power of Japanese imperialism in China was smashed, and that of the other imperialists in China weakened. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the United States Government stepped up the execution of its policy of sole domination over China. But the difficulties in realizing this policy were formidable, because those who favoured this policy were only the Kuomintang reactionary clique and to oppose the Chinese people with all their power.

After the surrender of imperialist Japan in 1945, the United States Government immediately adopted a policy of open intervention in China's internal affairs, using every means to smooth the way for Kuomintang reactionary clique to launch a bloody civil war and to slaughter the Chinese people. The United States Government mobilized 113,000 men of its naval, ground and air forces to make landings in the major ports of China, to seize important strategic points from which the Kuomintang reactionary clique could launch the civil war, and to assist the Kuomintang reactionary clique by transporting one million of its troops to the fronts on which the civil war was to be launched.

Moreover, the United States Government equipped, at one time or another, 165 divisions of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek army as the main force for the invasion of the Chinese people's liberated areas ; it helped Chiang to equip nine air force squadrons consisting of 1,720 planes supplied the Chiang navy with 757 vessels, and gave material and financial aid to Chiang to the amount of over 6,000 million U.S. dollars—although the United States Government admits only one-third of this figures. It is only because of the large-scale aid it received from the United States Government that the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique dared and was able to carry out a civil war against the people, unprecedented in Chinese history in its scale and cruelty, and to slaughter several millions of the Chinese people with United States arms.

During Chiang Kai-shek's bloody civil war against the Chinese people, apart from the fact that the United States Government sent 1,000 military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek to plan the civil war, United States troops stationed in China actually participated in the civil war, directly invading the Chinese people's liberated areas more than 40 times. During this period, the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kind unequal treaties and agreements to reduce China to the status of a colony and military base of the United States. These included such military agreements as the 'Aviation Agreement' and 'Naval Agreement' and such economic treaties and agreements as the 'Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation,' the 'Bilateral Agreement between China and the United States,' and the 'Sino-American Agreement on Rural Reconstruction.'

Furthermore, on the basis of these treaties and agreements, the United States Government secured many naval and air bases in Kuomintang China, and gained control of the military, political financial and economic branches of the Kuomintang Government. American goods flooded China's markets, causing her national industries to fall into bankruptcy. The monopoly capitalists of the United States, through the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, controlled the vital arteries of China's economy. In fact, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary regime was nothing more than a puppet through which American imperialism controlled China.

The Chinese people are completely justified in charging all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek to the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget the blood debt owed by the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget the blood debt owned by the American imperialists. American imperialism can never escape the grave responsibility which it must bear for all the crimes committed by the Chiang Kai-shek brigands against the Chinese people. The hands of the American imperialists are stained with blood of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the blood of the Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the bloody crimes of slaughtering their countrymen and enslaving the Chinese nation through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

However, all the efforts of the United States Government ended in failure. A relatively complete record of this failure can be found in the volume United States' Relations with China, known as the White Paper, compiled by the State Department of the United States. But the United States Government, still reluctant to admit that this was its final defeat, has for the time being concentrated its aggressive activities against China and Taiwan, the lair of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in its last desperate struggle.

Shortly after the Japanese surrender, the United States armed forces had already started making various preparations for aggression against Taiwan, under the pretext of assisting the Kuomintang regime to 'accept the surrender' and 'repatriate war prisoners.' What the United States did in Taiwan through the Kuomintang regime was the same as what it did in Japan: it first of all kept intact all Japanese fascist forces and military installations. During the second half of 1947, under the direction of the United States Government, Hasegawa Kiyoshi, former Japanese Governor of Taiwan, Yoshisuke Ayukawa, former President of the Japanese Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, released by order of MacArthur from Sugamo Prison, and other notorious war criminals of Japan's aggressive war against China were sent to Taiwan under United States protection. They were sent there to participate in planning the cons-

truction of military bases in Taiwan and, under United States instructions, to help train Chiang Kai-shek's troops to slaughter Chinese people. During this period, the United States successively established air bases, liaison radio stations and other installations in Taipoh, Sungshan, Taichung, Tainan and Hsinchu air-fields. Military aircraft of the United States 13th Air Force in the Pacific were sent out to photograph the topography of the whole of Taiwan and to make meteorological surveys. Furthermore, United States military aircraft were constantly stationed on the various airfields in Taiwan. Hsinchu airfield, the largest air base in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, became, after the Japanese surrender, the base of a United States force of aggression—the 13th Air Force.

Meanwhile the United States gradually converted the ports of Keelung and Kaohsiung in Taiwan into its own naval bases. In the spring of 1948 Admiral Charles M. Cooke, Jr. arrived in Taiwan with the United States West Pacific Fleet under his command, and compelled the Kuomintang regime—which had intended to cover up the fact that it had sold China's seaports—to declare officially that Keelung as well as Tsingtao was a port open to the United States navy.

Since that time, vessels of the United States navy have continually violated the territorial waters of our country around Taiwan and have been stationed as many as 27 United States naval vessels. In regard to land forces, the United States 'Joint Military Advisory Group' long ago sent a large staff of officers on active service to be stationed permanently on Taiwan. In accordance with the joint war plans of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, this military staff is responsible for organizing, equipping and training the so-called new army of the Kuomintang, which is to be used to attack the Chinese people. Thus, the United States has in reality taken over the military role of Japan, put Taiwan under its control and converted it into a military base of the United States.

Economically, the United States Government jointly with American monopolies, such as the Westinghouse Electric Company, the Reynolds Metal Company, the American Express Company and others, has, through various devices, acquired domination over Taiwan's main industries—electric power, aluminium, cement, fertilizer, and other established control over the economic life of Taiwan, and actually reduced it to a colony of the United States. Under such conditions, it is natural that the United States will not lightly give up Taiwan. Consequently in order to carry out its aim of dominating Taiwan, the United States Government has long been engaged in a variety of vicious political conspiracies. The instigation of the 'Taiwan Separatist Movement' by the United States reached such a height of brazenness that an American government official in Taiwan openly declared that, if the people in Taiwan wanted to relieve themselves of China's rule, the United States was ready to help them.

The Chinese people of Taiwan have seen with their own eyes all these conspiracies of the United States Government in league with the reactionary Kuomintang remnants. Therefore, in the last five years, they have repeatedly launched great national liberation movements directed against the United States Government and its puppet. By their glorious uprising of February 28, 1947, the Chinese people of Taiwan declared to the whole world that just as they had not accepted the rule of Japanese imperialism, so they would never accept the rule of United States imperialism. The people of Taiwan demand fervently to return to the fold of their already liberated motherland and are at this moment waging hard and heroic struggles for the liberation of Taiwan.

In 1949 the Chinese People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the mainland of China. The vestiges of Chiang Kai-shek's clique fled to Taiwan, in order to use it as a lair for their last desperate struggle. In spite of the hypocritical statement of President Truman on January 5, 1950, concerning 'non-intervention in the Taiwan situation,' the United States Government, in fact, intensified and stepped up its support for the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique herded together on Taiwan. The United States Government continues, through the Kuomintang remnant clique to hinder the People's Republic of China from liberating Taiwan, so that Taiwan may remain under the actual domination of the United States.

But why does not the United States Government continue this course of action—this relatively covert form of aggression through the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime? Why must it instead adopt the form of open and direct armed aggression to attain its objective of controlling Taiwan? There is only one reason. The growing might of the Chinese people and the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant regime have made it impossible for the United States to attain its objectives by any indirect form of aggression. Thus, we can see that open armed aggression by the United States against China's territory, Taiwan, is the inevitable outcome of the development of its imperialist policy of aggression against China, which is of long standing. The act of armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, by the United States Government serves only to prove once again to the Chinese people that United States imperialism regards all victories of the Chinese people with hostility: that United States imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Members of the Security Council! I must point out further that the armed aggression of the United States Government against Chinese territory of Taiwan, is not an isolated affair. It is an integral part of the over-all plan of the United States Government to intensify its aggression against, and control and enslavement of Asian

countries and peoples—of Korea, Vietnam, Philippines, Japan, etc. It is further step in the development of interference in the affairs of Asia by American imperialism.

During the five years since the war, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, has undertaken a series of unlawful measures, abusing the power granted to him as Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan, and completely violating the Potsdam Declaration, jointly signed by China, the United States, Great Britain and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the 'Basic Post Surrender.'

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN

**Premier Chou En-Lai's speech on International Situation,
China's Foreign Policy, and the Liberation of Taiwan
delivered at the Third Session of the First National
People's Congress**

June 28, 1956.

During the past seven years, the Chinese people have achieved tremendous successes in the peaceful construction of their country. Our motherland is being transformed step by step from a poverty-stricken, backward agricultural country into a prosperous and powerful socialist industrial country. At the same time, China's international position has risen to unprecedented heights. China is playing an ever more important role in promoting the development of the entire international situation. It has become more and more difficult to ignore China's views in the settlement of many major international issues.

At present, 26 countries with an aggregate population in excess of one thousand million have already established diplomatic relations with our country. Still more countries and broader mass of people are maintaining trade and cultural relations with us. Clearly, it is already impossible for anyone to deny the reality that the People's Republic of China exists and that it is growing ever stronger.

True, the United States is up to now still attempting to deny the Chinese people's right to choose their own state system, refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China and trying hard to exclude New China from participation in international affairs. However, as history has proved, budding forces with have broken through the old system will eventually grow mighty inspite of all obstructions. This was the case with the American War of Independence against colonial rule, with the French bourgeois revolution which overthrew feudal rule, and also with the Russian October Socialist Revolution which wiped out capitalist rule from one-sixth of the earth's surface. Those who today refuse to recognize New China had better review these historical facts.

Actually, although the United States does not recognize the People's Republic of China, a representative of the United States Government is nevertheless holding talks at Geneva with a representa-

tive of the Chinese Government. It is not difficult to see from this apparent contradiction that the real aim of the United States in refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China is to profit by using the Chiang Kai-shek clique in bargaining with China and in creating tension.

The strenuous efforts of the United States to exclude New China from participation in international affairs have not caused China any harm. On the contrary, by obstructing the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate position and rights in the United Nations, the United States has damaged the prestige of the United Nations and made it impossible for that organisation to play effectively the role envisaged by its Charter. The United States has also aroused the dissatisfaction of many countries by forcing them to refrain from establishing diplomatic relations with China and accelerated their tendency to fall away from the United States. As for China, regardless of recognition or non-recognition by the United States, it will all the same exist and develop with growing strength, its contacts with other countries will further increase, and its international position will further rise.

In the face of such undeniable and powerful facts, certain people are hatching a plot to create 'two Chinas.' They are vainly attempting to describe Taiwan as another China or as a separate independent State. But these vain attempts can only be interpreted as a sign of losing one's senses in the face of powerful facts. Taiwan has always been a part of China. Solemn international agreements have also long affirmed that Taiwan belongs to China. Even the Chiang Kai-shek clique also admits that Taiwan belongs to China. All Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, will never tolerate the detachment of Taiwan from their motherland.

Those who vainly seek to create "two Chinas" recognize that it is becoming more and more difficult to continue to exclude the People's Republic of China from international organisations and conferences. Therefore, they are attempting to create beforehand a State of 'two Chinas' in international organisations and conferences. The Chinese people long ago saw through this plot. It is futile to hope that China will fall into this trap. International organisations and conferences are only one means of effecting international exchanges and contacts. China will not find it any more difficult to expand its contacts and connections with other countries because of its being excluded from international organisations and conferences.

Only one China exists in the world, Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent the Chinese people. We believe that sooner or later this fact will receive general recognition in the world. The sooner this day arrives, the sooner will normal international relations be restored.

Now, I should like to report to the Congress on the situation in the Sino-American talks.

After agreement was reached on the return of civilians of both sides at the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in Geneva on September 10, 1955, the two sides entered into discussions on the question of renunciation of force. Upto now, nearly ten months have elapsed, but no agreement has yet been reached.

The Chinese side is not against the issuance jointly with the United States of an announcement on mutual renunciation of the use and threat of force in Sino-American relations. In fact, as early as during the Bandung Conference, China declared that the Chinese people do not want war with the United States and that the Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government on the questions with the United States Government on the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. However, it must be pointed out that the tension in the Taiwan area was entirely created by the U.S. occupation by force of China's territory of Taiwan. Therefore, any announcement concerning the renunciation of the use of force between China and the United States must be capable of leading to the relaxation and elimination of the tension, and must not imply acceptance of the U.S. occupation of Taiwan. At the same time, the question as to what means will be used by China to liberate Taiwan is entirely matter of China's sovereignty and internal affairs, in which no outside interference will be tolerated. Therefore, a Sino-American announcement should in no way allow interference in this matter.

On the basis of the foregoing principles, the Chinese side has proposed two different forms for the announcement. If a statement is to be specifically included in the Sino-American announcement that the disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area will be settled through peaceful negotiations without resorting to force, then it must also be explicitly provided that a Sino-American conference of the foreign ministers be held so as to implement this statement. Such is the draft put forward by the Chinese side on October 27, 1955. Alternately, China and the United States may first issue an announcement of principle that the disputes between the two countries will be settled by peaceful means without resorting to force, and then the ambassadors of the two countries would continue their talk to seek concrete means of realising this common desire of the two sides. Such is the December 1, 1955 draft of the Chinese side. Recently, taking into consideration the view of the American side, the Chinese side again proposed on May 11, 1955 that while declaring in the announcement that the disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area would be settled peacefully without resorting to force, the two countries should also lay down the provision that, within a definite period of the issuance

of the announcement, they must seek and ascertain the means for the realization of this desire, including the holding of a Sino-American conference of the foreign ministers. However, inspite of these proposals, the American side is still unwilling to come to an agreement.

Although the United States suggested that the principle of renunciation of force should be made specifically applicable to the Taiwan area, yet it is against providing for the holding of a Sino-American conference of the foreign ministers to realize this principle, and even refuses to agree to seek and ascertain, within a definite period of time, the means of settling peacefully the disputes between China and the United States. In addition, the United States even insists that it has a so-called 'right of individual or collective self-defence' on China's territory of Taiwan. All this indicates that the United States is attempting to secure an announcement of sole advantage to itself, so that it could, on the one hand, maintain the present state of its occupation of Taiwan and, on the other hand, continue to interfere with the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people. If it could not secure such an announcement, the United States would then attempt to drag out indefinitely the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in order to attain the same objective of freezing the status quo in the Taiwan area.

These attempts of the United States are precisely what block an agreement in the Sino-American talks up to now. China cannot agree to issue an announcement of sole advantage to one side; nor can it tolerate the use of the Sino-American talks by one side as a tool to achieve its unilateral aims. China maintains that any joint announcement must be advantageous to both sides, and that continuance of the Sino-American talks is possible only on condition that it is advantageous to both sides.

Finally, I wish to say something on the question of the liberation of Taiwan, about which we are all concerned.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. This is the unshakable common will of the 600 million people of China.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly pointed out that there are two ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, that is, by war or by peaceful means, and that the Chinese people would seek to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means so far it is possible. There is no doubt that if Taiwan can be liberated peacefully, it would be best for our country, for all the Chinese people and for Asian and world peace.

At present, the possibility of peacefully liberating Taiwan is increasing. This is first of all because the international situation is now definitely tending towards relaxation, and the United States

armed occupation of Taiwan and interference in China's internal affairs are opposed by more and more peace-loving countries and peoples. As regards our internal situation, our great motherland has grown even stronger and become even more consolidated. It is inspiring more pride in all patriotic Chinese than ever before. At present, our compatriots on Taiwan, who have a revolutionary tradition are unwilling to suffer any longer their bitter life of slavery, and want to return as soon as possible to the embrace of the motherland ; and even among the Kuomintang military and political personnel who have fled to Taiwan from the mainland, more and more people have come to realize that their only future lies in the peaceful reunification of their motherland. Since we issued to call to strive for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, many Kuomintang military and political personnel in Taiwan and abroad have expressed their patriotic aspirations. We believe that those who wish to bring about the peaceful liberation of Taiwan and the complete unification of our motherland will certainly grow in number from day to day. This will be an inexorable trend.

The trends are very clear. The situation of the Taiwan authorities maintaining a feeble existence by following the behest of the United States cannot possibly last long. The foreign forces on which they depend are by no means reliable. On the contrary, by inviting the wolf into the house, they would not lose everything they have but also be in constant danger of being treacherously bitten in the back of abandoned. An important lesson can be drawn from a comparison of the contrasting attitudes taken by China and the United States in the Geneva talks. The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that only the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area can be discussed and settled by China and the United States ; as for the question of the return of Taiwan to the motherland, regardless of the means by which it is realized, this is a question which can only be settled and definitely can be settled by us Chinese people, and no foreign interference will be tolerated. The United States, however, has adopted a totally different attitude in the talks. It regards Taiwan as its colony and makes use of it to bargain with China. It can also be seen that the United States has not only occupied Taiwan and extended its control into every sphere in Taiwan—political, military, economic and cultural, but is also playing its usual splitting tactics to create suspicion and feuds inside Taiwan attempting thus to strengthen its control and to profit thereby. However, these tactics of the U.S. aggressive forces to make fools of the Chinese people, interfere in China's internal affairs and disrupt China's national unity have aroused ever stronger dissatisfaction among the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan. Many of them have indicated that they will suffer no longer their life of abject dependence, at the beck and call of others. They want to enhance national self-respect, defend national dignity, free themselves from U.S. control

and handle domestic matters in an independent spirit. We welcome this patriotic stand of theirs.

We have consistently stood for national solidarity and united resistance against external enemies. In the interest of our great motherland and our people, the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang members have twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. After the conclusion of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, we also made efforts to bring about internal peace. Even during the Chinese War of Liberation when the Chinese people were forced to take up arms, and even after the mainland was liberated, we have never given up our efforts for peaceful negotiations. Although in the past few years, owing to U.S. armed intervention, we and the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan have taken different paths, yet so long as we all hold supreme the interests of our nation and motherland, we can still link arms again and unit. We believe that our great nation, which experienced long years of suffering, will certainly be able through our own efforts to accomplish the complete unity of our motherland.

Now, on behalf of the Government, I formally state: We are willing to negotiate with the Taiwan authorities on specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and we hope that the Taiwan authorities will send their representative to Peking or other appropriate place, at a time which they consider appropriate, to begin these talks with us.

In order to unite all patriotic forces to realize at an early date the complete unification of our motherland. I wish here to declare once again that all patriotic people, regardless of whether they joined the patriotic ranks earlier or later, and regardless of how great the crimes they committed in the past may have been, will be treated in accordance with the principle that 'patriots belong to one family', and the policy of no punishment for past misdeeds: they are all welcome to perform meritorious service for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and will be duly rewarded to according the degree of their merit and provided with appropriate jobs.

Our compatriots in Taiwan have always been an inseparable part of the Chinese people. We not only have constant concern for them and support them in various ways in their struggle against foreign rule, but also stand ready to welcome them at any time to participate in the socialist construction of the motherland and to share the glory of our nation.

We appreciate the situation in which all the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan whose homes are on the mainland find themselves, and we hope that they may soon

realize their desire of reuniting with their families. They can communicate with their relatives and friends on the mainland; they can also return to the mainland for short visits to their relatives and friends. We are prepared to give them all kind of convenience and assistance.

We hope the responsible Kuomintang military and political personages on Taiwan will play an important role in the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. So long as they work in this direction, their future position will be definitely assured. If they still harbour doubts, they can obtain clarification through their relatives and friend on the mainland to ascertain what the situation is. We guarantee the latter's freedom of movement in coming and going.

We hope the Kuomintang military personnel on Taiwan will actively expedite the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. If they do so, they will surely earn the confidence and care of the motherland and the people. The treatment accorded to those commanders and soldiers who came over peacefully on the mainland is a precedent.

We also hope that all Kuomintang military and political personnel who are abroad will work for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Only thus can they escape the fate of leading the life of exiles in foreign lands, looked down upon by others.

We attach great importance to the positive role played by the broad mass of patriotic overseas Chinese in promoting the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. We hope that those few overseas Chinese who used to maintain or still maintain a hostile attitude towards the motherland will distinguish between right and wrong, see the direction in which events are moving, and, together with the broad mass of patriotic overseas Chinese, contribute towards the patriotic cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

The gate of the motherland is always wide open for all patriots. Every Chinese has both the right and the duty to make his contribution to the sacred cause of the unification of the motherland. With the unity of the entire nation and the efforts of all our people, the liberation of Taiwan will certainly be consummated.

U.S.-CHIANG KAI-SHEK MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's Statement on U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek 'Mutual Security Treaty'

December, 8, 1954.

On December 2, 1954 the United States Government, disregarding the repeated protests and warnings of the Chinese people, concluded a so-called Mutual Security Treaty with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang fugitive on Taiwan. The United States Government is trying, by means of this treaty, to legalize its armed seizure of Chinese territory of Taiwan, and make Taiwan a base for further aggression against China and the preparation for a new war. This act is a grave warlike provocation against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby declare : Taiwan is China's territory, and Chiang Kai-shek is the public enemy of the Chinese people. To liberate Taiwan and liquidate the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors is entirely within the purview of China's sovereignty and a purely internal affair of China, and no interference by any foreign country will be tolerated. Threats of war cannot shake the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan but can only heighten their indignation. The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang has no authority whatsoever to conclude any treaty with any country. The 'Mutual Security Treaty' concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has no legal basis whatsoever and is null and void. This treaty is a betrayal of China's sovereign and territorial rights and the Chinese people oppose it resolutely. If the United States Government does not withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, and persists in interfering in China's internal affairs, it must take upon itself all the grave consequences.

The 'Mutual Security Treaty' which the United States Government has entered into which the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is, in every sense, a treaty of war and aggression. United States imperialism is hostile to the Chinese people. Refusing to reconcile itself to the defeat of its imperialist policy in China, the United States Government occupied Taiwan by armed force in June 1950 at the same time as it launched its war of aggression in Korea. Since then it has been shielding the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang and directing it in its uninterrupted war of harassment and destruction against the main-

land and coastal islands of China. Now that the Korean war has ended, the United States Government no longer finds it possible to use that war as a pretext for the continued occupation of Taiwan. That is why it has come out openly and fabricated this U.S.—Chiang Kai-shek 'Mutual Security Treaty' for the purpose of outright seizure of China's territories of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

The 'Mutual Security Treaty' between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek cannot be called defensive in any sense ; it is a treaty of naked aggression. The aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them pretend that the treaty is defensive in character ; but such a pretence cannot hide its aggressive nature in any way. Taiwan is China's territory. This is a fact which the United States Government has recognized in such international agreements as the Cairo and Potsdam Declaration and the Instrument of Japanese Surrender, all of which bear its own signature. For the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is an internal affair of China. Here too the United States Government, in January 1950, acknowledged¹ China's exercise of her sovereign right over Taiwan and declared its intension not to become involved in the civil conflict in China.

Now the United States Government is erecting fortification and establishing military bases on the Chinese territories of Taiwan and the Penghu Island, which are 5,000 miles away from the United States. It is shielding the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors which has been repudiated by the 600 million people of China. It is endeavouring to prevent the Chinese people from liberating their own territory of Taiwan. In so doing, the United States Government is committing flagrant violations of international good faith, seizing Chinese territory, infringing upon China's sovereignty and interfering in China's internal affairs—acts which can in no way be described as defensive. It is genuine act of defence, on the other hand, for the Chinese people to liberate their own territory of Taiwan and to safeguard their national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their country. The Japanese militarists, in their time, also represented their seizure of North-east China in 1931 as an act of self-defence. But no body believed them. Everyone knows that to seize another country's territory, to infringe upon another country's internal affairs is to commit acts of aggression. The Chinese people, tempered in victorious struggle against the Japanese militarist aggression will never tolerate United States aggression, undertaken under the name of 'defence', against China's Taiwan and Penghu Islands.

The 'Mutual Security Treaty' between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek is designed to extend aggression and prepare for a new war. It has nothing to do with the maintenance of a peace. The aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow

them, are advancing all kinds of arguments to conceal the warlike purpose of this treaty. But this purpose cannot be concealed. It is well-known that since it undertook its armed aggression on Taiwan, the United States Government has been aiding and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in its war of harassment and destruction against the Chinese mainland, and has never relaxed its efforts in this regard. By this treaty, the United States Government now attempts to legalize the occupation of Taiwan by its naval and air forces, and to secure the right to dispose its ground forces "in and about Taiwan and the Pescadores" with a view to strengthening its military base in Taiwan. By this treaty the United States Government openly attempts to use the threat of war to hinder the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan ; and at the same time provides for further aggression against 'other territories' of China. There can be no doubt that the signing of the 'Mutual Security Treaty' between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has increased the danger of the extension of the United States aggression against China.

In his statement on December 1, the United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, openly asserted that this treaty forms 'another link' in the so-called system of security established by the United States in the Pacific. This shows that the aggressive circles of the United States not only intend to occupy Taiwan and extend their aggression against China, but that they also intend to prepare a new war. The danger of war in South-east Asia has also been increased by the Manila Treaty recently concluded under United States manipulation. It is clear that the aggressive circles of the United States are now trying to form a system of aggression in the East by linking the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek Treaty with the Manila treaty and other war treaties in Asia and the Pacific region. These moves of the aggressive circles of the United States dovetail with their action in Europe, where they master-minded the conclusion of the Paris agreements to revive German militarism and expand the system of aggression in the West. Their aim is to deepen the division of the world, to enslave the peoples in these areas and to accelerate their preparations for a new world war.

All that has been said above shows that the aim pursued by the United States Government in this 'Mutual Security Treaty' is not peace, but war. The aggressive circles of the United States are in fact copying the old tactics used by Japanese militarism in its aggression against China. Nevertheless, there are some who want the Chinese people to forget the lessons of history and accept as the status quo the U.S. occupation of Taiwan, just as they wish. But the Chinese people will never forget the calamities that ensued from the Mukden Incident of 1931 ; nor will they forget that the Lukouchiao Incident of 1937 was a sequel to the Mukden Incident. The peoples of Asia and of the Pacific, whose memory of the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 is still fresh, will also never forget how

disastrous were the consequences of the policy of appeasing Japanese militarist aggression. Similarly, the peoples of Europe will never forget that the Munich policy of giving rein to German militarist aggression, was precisely the thing that led to the Second World War. The mistakes of history must not be repeated. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to this U S.-Chiang Kai-shek Treaty for war which endangers the security of China and the peace of Asia. They are also firmly opposed to the Paris agreements which endanger the security of Europe and the peace of the world.

The 'Mutual Security Treaty' between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has created new tensions in the Far East. Nevertheless, there are some who maintain that this treaty will lead to an easing of tension in the Far East. This is the complete opposite of the truth. The United States Government undertook its armed occupation of Taiwan at the same time as it unleashed its war of aggression against Korea and intensified its intervention in the war in Indo-China. Hence from the very beginning this act has been part of the whole scheme to create tensions in the Far East.

Thanks to the armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the tense situation in the Far East began to relax. After the Geneva Conference, with a view to further reducing the tension in the Far East, we reaffirmed in clear terms that the United States should withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits and stop interfering in China's internal affairs. But the United States Government, far from withdrawing all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, directed the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors to become even more reckless in its war of harassment and destruction against the Chinese mainland. As a matter of fact, the incessant creation of tensions has been the consistent policy of the United States Government. For years the United States armed forces have repeatedly invaded China's territorial air and territorial waters. It is not the Chinese armed forces that have invaded the United States territorial air or territorial waters. The United States has dispatched spies to the Chinese mainland to carry out subversive activities. It is not China that has carried out subversive activities against the United States.

In the Korean armistice, the Korean and Chinese side faithfully implemented the Armistice Agreement and the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war. The United States side, on the other hand, violated the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war by forcibly retaining more than 20,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war and pressing them into the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Even up to now the United States side has not accounted for these 20,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war.

With regard to the restoration of peace in Indo China, China has guaranteed the execution of the Geneva agreements. The United States, on the other hand, not only refused to join in guaranteeing the agreements, but on the contrary concluded the Manila treaty—and is now preparing to arm and train Bao Dai's troops for the purpose of undermining the Geneva agreements.

And now, in an attempt to increase the threat of war and create new tensions in the Far East, the United States Government has concluded its treaty of aggression and war with the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors. All the above facts show that the responsibility for the failure to lessen the tension in the Far East rests entirely on the United States.

The United Nations Charter categorically forbids any infringement of the territorial integrity and political independence of any nation. This principle constitutes the basis of peace between nations. The treaty the United States Government has concluded with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, like other so called treaties of defence engineered by the United States, includes a reaffirmation of faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. But all these so-called treaties of defence are in their essence diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles which the United Nations Charter proclaims. These treaties can only lead to war. They cannot possibly promote peaceful co-existence between nations. These treaties make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. They cannot possibly contribute to the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter or the safeguarding of international peace.

By contrast, the People's Republic of China consistently upholds the principles of safeguarding the national rights of all peoples, and of mutual respect by all states for each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The five principles of peaceful co-existence jointly advocated by China, India and Burma are in full accord with the purposes of the United Nations Charter. We hold the firm conviction that, so long as the nations of the world abide by the five principles, strive to establish and expand areas of peace, and refrain from creating division, states with different social systems can co-exist in peace and a world system of collective peace and security can be built up.

The Moscow Conference of European Countries which has just been concluded has exerted great efforts in this direction, and has won wide support from the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. But the aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them are doing all they can to undermine the five principles of peaceful co-existence and obstruct the establishment of a world system of collective peace and security. By these means they are steadily worsening the current international situation both in East and

the West. We hold that all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world are in duty bound to put an end to the deterioration in the international situation and to redouble their efforts for the safeguarding of international peace.

To this end, the Chinese people make the following declaration solemnly before the world :

Taiwan is China's territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Only by liberating Taiwan from the tyranny of the Chiang Kai shek gang of traitors can the Chinese people achieve the complete unity of their motherland and further safeguard the peace of Asia and the world. All proposals to set up a so called 'indepndent state' of Taiwan, the 'neutralize' Taiwan or to place Taiwan under 'trusteeship' mean, in practice, dismemberment of China's territory, infringement upon China's sovereignty and interference in China's internal affairs. All are therefore, utterly unacceptable to the Chinese people.

In order to ease the situation in the Far East, eliminate the threat of war against China and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, the U.S. Government must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits. There is no justification whatsoever for the action of the United States in crossing vast oceans to occupy China's territory of Taiwan.

The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to war, but no threats of war will ever frighten them into submission. Should anybody insist on imposing war on the Chinese people, the Chinese people will, without fail, deal determined counter-blows to those who commit such acts of intervention and provocation.

The Chinese people fervently desire peace, but they will never beg for peace at the expense of their territory and sovereignty. To sacrifice territory and sovereignty can only lead to further aggression ; it cannot possibly bring about genuine peace. The Chinese people understand that only by resisting aggression can peace be defended.

BRITISH INTERFERENCE—RIOTS IN KOWLOON AND TSUEN WAN

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China Concerning the 'Report on the riots in Kowloon and Tsuen Wan' of the British Authorities in Hongkong

January 22, 1957.

On January 1, 1957 the British authorities in Hongkong issued a 'Report on the Riots in Kowloon and Tsuen Wan.' In its report, the British authorities in Hongkong still attempted to cover up the facts, whitewash the crimes of the Kuomintang agents in engineering and organizing the riots in Kowloon, and shirk their own responsibility. The report also failed to provide responsible assurances for the future security of the life and property of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon. It even openly called the Chiang Kai-shek group in Taiwan the 'National Government in Formosa', and mentioned it alongside of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, thus revealing once again the British Government's design of creating 'two Chinas.' Regarding this, the Chinese Government and people cannot but express their indignation and protest.

It should be pointed out that these riots were no accident. The British authorities in Hongkong have long shielded and connived at the activities of the Kuomintang special agents in Hongkong and Kowloon detrimental to peaceful Chinese inhabitants and hostile to the People's Republic of China, thus allowing Hongkong and Kowloon to become in reality a base of the Kuomintang agents for carrying out subversive activities against the China mainland. It was Kuomintang agents who blew up aircraft of the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Air Transport Corporation and who seized fishing boats 'Yuchiu,' 'Yuyang,' 'Yulien,' 'Yupu' and 'Yuchiung'. Regarding these cases, the British authorities in Hongkong never seriously brought the criminals to justice. The sabotage of the aircraft 'Kashmir Prince' on April 11, 1955 which shocked the whole world took place nearly two years ago, yet the British authorities in Hongkong have not only failed to bring the chief criminal to justice but, on the contrary, have released from custody all those who are connected with the case. On January 31, 1956, a F-86 fighter of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, after intruding over the China mainland to carry out harassing activities, fled to Hongkong and landed there to escape from the pursuit of our air force.

The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the British Charge d'Affairs in Peking, pointing out that the British authorities in Hongkong had the responsibility to detain that fighter plane and its pilot. However, the British Government, in disregard of the proper demand of the Chinese Government, sent the pilot of the fighter back to Taiwan, thus openly allowing Hongkong to be used as a base and a place of refuge for carrying out military sabotage against China. With the connivance of the British authorities in Hongkong, Kuomintang agent organizations have all along used Hongkong and Kowloon as a base for training special agents and carrying out subversive activities against the People's Republic of China. The recently arrested more than ten groups of Kuomintang agents, who had plotted to carry out sabotage activities in Canton on the evening of October 10, 1956 in co-ordination with the Kowloon riots, had all received technical training in sabotage, such as detonation, arson, distribution of handbills and agitation, in the Lung Hua Restaurant at Jordan Road and elsewhere in Kowloon. It was because of the consistent shielding and connivance of the British authorities in Hongkong that the Kuomintang agents had become more unbridled. And the Kowloon riots were exactly the result of such a policy of the British authorities in Hongkong. Therefore, the British authorities in Hongkong can never shirk the serious responsibility they should bear for these riots.

The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned about the security of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon, and can never tolerate Kuomintang agents to carry out activities in Hongkong and Kowloon endangering the life and property of Chinese inhabitants, or to use Hongkong and Kowloon as a base for carrying out subversive activities against the China mainland. The Chinese Government and people firmly demand that the British authorities in Hongkong immediately arrest and severely punish the Kuomintang agent culprits, give compensation, comfort and relief to the affected Chinese inhabitants, shops and factories and social organizations, and take other necessary measures to cope with the consequences of the riots, and effectively ensure the security of the life and property of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon and guarantee against similar incidents in the future.

Policy for Japan of the Far Eastern Commission

MacArthur is arbitrarily freeing the Japanese war criminals whom the people all over Asia hate bitterly. He is reviving the power of Japanese fascism, suppressing the movement of the Japanese people for independence and liberation, and refusing to bring about an early over-all peace treaty with Japan. He is trying to gain sole domination over Japan, to enslave the Japanese nation, and to reduce Japan to a United States colony and a base for a new aggressive war.

This policy of the United States Government towards Japan hurts not only the interest of the Japanese people, but also the common interests of the Chinese people, the Korean people and the other peoples of Asia. The Chinese people cannot but strongly protest against this reactionary policy of the United States Government and oppose it resolutely. Since the Chinese people won victory on the main land of China, the United States Government has carried out ever more frantically its policy of rearming Japan in opposition to the Chinese and other peoples.

At present, the United States Government has not only turned Japan into its main base for the preparation of aggressive war in the Far East. It has already begun to use this base as a means to launch aggressive wars against a series of Asian countries.

The headquarters of the United States Government in its aggression against Korea and Taiwan in Japan.

Under the pretext of the Korean civil war, a war of its own making, the United States Government launched armed aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan. From its very outset, the United States armed aggression against Korea has been a grave threat to China's security. Members of the Security Council ! Korea is about 5,000 miles away from the boundaries of the United States. To say that the civil war in Korea affects the security of the United States in flagrant, absurd deceit. But between Korea and China there is only a narrow river. The United States armed aggression in Korea inevitably threatens China's security is fully borne out by the facts.

From August 27 to November 10, 1950, the military aircraft of the United States forces of aggression in Korea have violated the territorial air of North-East China 90 times conducted reconnaissance activities over China, strafed and bombed Chinese cities, towns and villages, killed and wounded peaceful inhabitants of China, and damaged property in China. The details are set out in a separate list. Here I should point out in addition that from 10:30 hours in November 10 to 13:10 hours on November 14, within 100 hours, United States aeroplanes violated China's territorial air as many as 28 times. On nine of these occasions they engaged in bombing and strafing.

The total number of such invading planes was 339. In ten of these raids, more than ten planes took part. On one occasion the number of invading planes was 68. Six Chinese people were injured and over 18 hours were destroyed by bombing and strafing. During the five days from November 15 to November 19, United States aeroplanes again violated China's territorial air on 33 occasions. The

total number of invading planes was 218. On September 20, naval craft of the United States forces of aggression against Korea opened fire on and forcibly inspected Chinese merchant shipping on the high seas.

All these acts of direct aggression against China by the United States forces of aggression in Korea are an insolent provocation which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly lodged accusations with the United Nations, demanding that it immediately take measures to stop such outrageous acts by the United States Government, and to secure the withdrawal of the United States forces of aggression from Korea, so that the issue might not assume more serious proportions. Owing to the firm support of the delegate of the U.S.S.R., our charge was placed on the agenda of the Security Council on August 31. But nevertheless, owing to manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the Security Council has up to now refused to admit the representative of China to state the case and participate in the discussion of this item. Now the United States forces of aggression in Korea are approaching our North-East frontiers. The flames of the aggressive war waged by the United States against Korea are swiftly sweeping towards China.

In these circumstances, the United States armed aggression against Korea can't be regarded as a matter which concerns the Korean people alone. No, decidedly not. Members of the Security Council! The United States aggression against Korea gravely endangers the security of the People's Republic of China. The Korean Democratic People's Republic is a country bound by close ties of friendship to the People's Republic of China. Geographically, only a river separates the two countries. The Chinese people cannot afford to stand by idly in the face of this serious situation brought about by the United States Government's aggression against Korea and the dangerous tendency towards the extension of this war. The Chinese people see with their own eyes how Taiwan has fallen prey to aggression, and how the flames of the United States war of aggression against Korea are leaping towards them. Stirred into righteous anger, they are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korea people. Such resistance to United States aggression is based on self-evident principles of justice and reason. The Chinese People's Government sees no reason whatever to prevent the voluntary departure of these men and women for Korea to participate, under the command of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, in the great liberation struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression.

The armed aggression of the United States against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnam

Democratic Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime in their armed attack on the Vietnam people. The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Vietnam and that the Bao Dai regime is a typical puppet regime which cannot possibly win any confidence and support from the Vietnam people. In supporting this aggressor and this puppet regime against the people of Vietnam, the United States Government not only commits aggression against Vietnam but threatens the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Vietnam.

Members of the Security Council ! In making Japan its main war base in the East, launching armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan, carrying out active intervention against Vietnam and tightening its control over their countries in Asia, the United States Government is systematically building up a military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, in preparation for further attacks on the People's Republic of China, and for the stirring up of a third world war.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to understand : After the Second World War, the United States imperialist policy met with miserable failure on the Chinese mainland. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution shows oppressed peoples and nations throughout Asia the way to drive imperialism out of Asia and achieve national independence. It shows them by living facts that it is possible to defeat American imperialism, and that without imperialist oppression the Asian people not only can survive, but will live a much better life. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution has inspired and encouraged the oppressed peoples throughout Asia in their struggle of liberation, their struggle for national independence. But American imperialism cannot resign itself to the shattering of its dream of exclusive domination of Asia. Nor can it reconcile itself to a withdrawal from Asia. Hence American imperialism regards victorious People's China as the most serious obstacle to its sole domination over Asia.

American imperialism is hostile to all liberation struggle by Asian people, and is particularly angered by the great victory of the Chinese people. It has, therefore resorted to open and direct armed aggression to realize its fanatical design of attacking New China and dominating the whole of Asia. The American imperialists claim that the 'defence line' of the United States must be pushed to the Yalu River, to the Taiwan Straits and to the mountainous border regions between China and Vietnam. Otherwise, they say, the United States would have to security.

Therefore the United States carries on armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan and has intensified its intervention in Vietnam. But in no sense whatever can it be said that the Korean people's struggle for liberation, or the exercise of sovereignty by the People's Republic of China over its own territory, Taiwan, or the volunteering of the Chinese people to resist the United States and aid Korea, or the struggle for national independence of the Vietnam Democratic Republic against French imperialism and its puppet, affects the security of the United States in North America 5,000 miles away. The Chinese people, steeled by hardship and suffering, know full well that the United States Government has undertaken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realizing its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said : "The conquer the world, one must first conquer China ; the conquer China, one must conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. The conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan."

From 1895 onward, the path of aggression taken by imperialism Japan corresponded exactly to the Tanaka plan. In 1895, imperialist Japan invaded Korea and Taiwan. In 1937, imperialist Japan occupied the whole of North-East China. In 1937, imperialist Japan launched the war of aggression against the whole of China. In 1941, it started its war aimed at the conquest of all Asia. But the fact is, as everyone knows, that before it realized this design, Japanese imperialism collapsed. American imperialism, by its aggression against Taiwan and Korea, is plagiarizing from the 'Tanaka Memorial,' and following the beaten path of the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The Chinese people are maintaining sharp vigilance over the extension of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired experience from history, and learned from it how to defend themselves against aggression.

Members of the Security Council ! American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism. It is now following the old track of aggression against China and Asia on which Japanese imperialism set forth in 1894-1895, only it is hoping to proceed with greater speed. But, after all, 1950 is not 1895. Times have changed, and so have the circumstances. The Chinese people have arisen. The Chinese people who, on the mainland, have overthrown the rule of Japanese imperialism, American imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai shek, will certainly succeed in driving out the United States aggressors and recovering Taiwan and all other territories that belong to China.

In the 55 years since 1895, as a result of the great October Socialist Revolution of the Soviet Union, of victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, and of the great revolution of the Chinese people, all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East have awakened

and organized themselves. Regardless of the savagery and cruelty of the American imperialist aggressors, the hard-struggling people of Japan, the victoriously advancing people of Viet-nam, the heroically resisting people of Korea, the people of the Philippines who have never laid down their arms, and all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East will certainly unite in close solidarity. Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism, they will fight dauntlessly to win the final victory in their struggle for national independence.

Armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan, and its extension of the aggressive war in Korea, has multiplied a thousand fold the Chinese people's hatred and indignation against American imperialism. Since June 27, thousands upon thousands of protests against these base acts of aggression committed by the United States Government have been raised by democratic political parties, people's organisations, national minorities overseas Chinese, workers peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and businessmen throughout China. All these demonstrated the irrepressible wrath of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people love peace. But if the United States aggressors take this as an indication of the weakness of the Chinese people, they will be making a grave mistake. The Chinese people never have been, and never will be, afraid of a war of resistance against aggression. Regardless of any military interference by the United States Government, and no matter how it may arrogate for its purpose the name of the United Nations, the Chinese people are firmly determined to recover Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the grip of the United States aggressors. This is the irrevocable and immoveable will of the 475 million people of China. The United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequence that may arise from its invasion and occupation of Taiwan.

To safeguard international peace and security, and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and for its armed intervention in Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, propose to the United Nations Security Council :

- (1) That the United Nations Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and for its armed intervention in Korea ;

- (2) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopted effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan, in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured ; and
- (3) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States of America and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

The proposals have been translated into English. We request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to distribute them to members of the Security Council, keeping one copy for himself. We ask that a copy should not be given to the reactionary Kuomintang representative, disowned by the people of China. Finally, I wish to declare that the President of the Security Council has made use of the fact that the representative of the People's Republic of China has only just arrived at Lake Success and is not familiar with the procedure here and of the fact that the People's Republic of China is still not a member of the Security Council. He has conspired with the United States representative to arrange an unreasonable procedure as regards speaking before the Council. The President has thus deprived the representative of the People's Republic of China of his just right to speak first before the Council. I wish to lodge a serious protest against this action.

CHOU-EN-LAI'S REPORT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Report on Foreign Affairs to the Central People's Government Council by Chou-En-Lai, Premier and minister for Foreign Affairs

August 11, 1954.

Comrade Chairman, Members of the Council :

In accordance with the agreement reached at the Four-Power Conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin in February, 1954, a conference was held in Geneva from April 26, 1954 onward with the participation of the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, the People's Republic of China and other countries concerned, to discuss separately the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the question of restoring peace in Indo-China. The Central People's Government, supporting that agreement, designated me to lead the Chinese delegation to the conference. The Geneva Conference concluded its sessions on July 21. I now submit a report to the Central People's Government Council on the results of the Geneva Conference and on our foreign policy in the present period.

I

The People's Republic of China, from the time it was founded, has repeatedly declared its readiness to establish and develop diplomatic relations with any country on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, and in its activities in international affairs it has worked steadily and perseveringly for the noble objectives of world peace and the progress of mankind. However, aggressive circles in the United States unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that the reactionary rule of the traitorous, U.S.-supported Chiang Kai-shek clique has been over-thrown by the Chinese people, have taken a consistently hostile position towards the 600 million liberated people of China, making them the target of armed intervention and the threat of war.

In their pursuit of world domination, the aggressive circles of the United States have consistently followed a policy of strength (armament drives and war preparations) and have been persistent in engineering the formation in Asia and Europe of various

antagonistic military blocs for aggressive purposes thus seeking to create international tension by which they might profit. Their aggressive activities have been particularly undisguised in Asia where they launched the war of aggression against Korea, stepped up their intervention in the Indo-China war and, at the same time, occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan. The Korean war has long since been stopped and now peace has likewise been restored in Indo-China. The results of the Geneva Conference were a victory for the forces of peace and a defeat for the forces of war, but the aggressive circles of the United States have not acquiesced in this defeat. They have become more active than ever in promoting and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors in carrying out an increasingly reckless war of harassment and destruction against the mainland and coastal areas of China. They are working vigorously for the revival of Japanese militarism, the formation of an anti-Communist military alliance in the Pacific, and aggressive blocs in South-East Asia and the Middle East. They are doing all this in an attempt to create new tension in various parts of Asia. This policy of aggression pursued by the aggressive circles of the United States gives rise to perpetual threats to the peace of Asia and the world.

It is, therefore, necessary to shatter the designs of the aggressive circles of the United States to create new tension ; to administer defeat after defeat to their aggressive policy if the peace and security of Asia and the world are to be safeguarded. The tasks now before us are to strive, together with the other nations concerned, to ensure the thorough implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China reached at the Geneva Conference ; to continue to seek the peaceful settlement on the Korean question ; to take determined action with regard to the liberation of Taiwan so as to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity ; to strengthen and develop China's peaceful co-operation with other nations of the world in conformity with the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence ; and to strive for the establishment of collective peace in Asia.

II

While the Geneva Conference has resulted in a further relaxation of international tension, it encountered numerous obstacles and difficulties in the course of its work. The principal author of these obstacles and difficulties was the United States Government. The United States Government and its puppet Syngman Rhee clique maintained an arbitrary, unreasonable attitude for the purpose of sabotaging the work of the Conference on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. In the end, the United States Government manipulated some of the nations participating in the Conference into

issuing a so-called Joint Declaration on this question, thus leading to the suspension of discussion, with the result that the Conference failed to accomplish its task of peacefully settling the Korean question. In the discussion of the Indo-China question, agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China were at last reached, thanks to the common efforts made by the great majority of the participating nations to overcome all kinds of obstacles set up by the United States. Although some points in these agreements are not entirely satisfactory, the success of the Geneva Conference in restoring peace in Indo-China was a tremendous one. The failure to reach agreement on the Korean question should not detract from the importance of this success.

The agreements of the Geneva Conference on the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China were reached on the basis of the recognition by France of the national rights of the Indo-Chinese peoples. These agreements not only provide concrete measures for the cessation of hostilities in the three Indo-Chinese States so as to end the eight-year-old Indo-China war and bring peace to the Indo-Chinese peoples and the French people, but also lay down principles for the settlement of political questions in the three Indo-Chinese States. The principle of ensuring respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and of non-interference in their internal affairs, was also accepted by the nations participating in the Conference.

Under the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in the three Indo-Chinese states, it is forbidden, after the armistice, to reinforce or replenish foreign troops and military personnel in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as to import all types of arms and munitions except for those required by Laos and Cambodia for self-defence. Strict implementation of these agreements will ensure the stability of the armistice in Indo-China. The participating nations also agreed unanimously to invite India, Poland and Canada to form international commissions to supervise the implementation of the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

According to the principles laid down by the Geneva Conference for the settlement of political questions in Indo-China, nation-wide free elections will be held in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia within the time limits specified for the respective countries, for the purpose of unifying each of these States on a democratic basis. In Vietnam, nation-wide free elections will be held in July 1956; in Laos and Cambodia in 1955. Under the obligations they have undertaken at the Geneva Conference, the three Indo-Chinese States will prohibit, on their respective territories, the establishment of military bases by any foreign country. The three Indo-Chinese

States have also undertaken not to join any military alliance and not to allow themselves to be used for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of any aggressive policy. The peoples of the three Indo-Chinese States will thus be enabled to lead a peaceful life and engage in peaceful construction of their respective motherlands.

Moreover, if the three Indo-Chinese States develop friendly relations among themselves and with France on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and enter into peaceful co-operation with neighbouring countries on the same basis, it will be possible to establish an area of collective peace in Indo-China and its surrounding countries. If favourable international conditions obtain, such an area of collective peace can be further enlarged so that the South East Asian countries, and countries throughout Asia, will be able to enjoy peaceful co-existence and be free from outside interference.

It was owing to the many-sided efforts made jointly by the Indo-Chinese peoples, the French people and the peace-loving nations and peoples throughout the world, and above all owing to the long struggle waged by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, that the Geneva Conference was able to score such a tremendous success. The policy of upholding world peace and international co-operation consistently pursued by the Soviet Union played an important part in the Geneva Conference. The conciliatory spirit displayed by France and the United Kingdom at the Geneva Conference, and the efforts made by the Colombo Powers, notably India, in promoting the conclusion of an armistice in Indo-China, also contributed towards the achievements of the Geneva Conference. The part played by the People's Republic of China in the Geneva Conference has been universally recognised and cannot be brushed aside by the aggressive circles of the United States.

The reaching of the Geneva agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China does not amount to the actual carrying out of these agreements. Even at the time when these agreements were reached at the Conference, the United States Government declared its unwillingness to take part in ensuring the restoration of peace in Indo-China in common with the other participating nations. Clearly, the aggressive circles of the United States do not intend to allow the smooth and the thorough implementation of the agreements reached at the Geneva Conference. Recently, the aggressive circles of the United States have been egging on Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines, trying to bring round Britain and France, and even trying to prevail upon the Colombo Powers to join in a so-called South-East Asia Treaty Organisation. It is not difficult to perceive that this bloc is being organised mainly against China and for the purpose of undermining the collective co-operation of the nations.

participating in the Geneva Conference with regard to the question of Indo-China. If any of the nations concerned should join the aggressive circles of the United States in these divisive activities, the common cause of ensuring the restoration of peace in Indo-China would be endangered and the implementation of the Indo-Chinese armistice agreements might be disrupted.

We, therefore, firmly maintain that the nations concerned must join in ensuring the thorough implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China, and that they must resolutely oppose the scheme of the aggressive circles of the United States to undermine the Geneva agreements by engineering a so-called South-East Asia Treaty Organisation.

III

The achievements of the Geneva Conference demonstrate that international disputes can be settled by the peaceful method of negotiation. Increasing numbers of people in the world are coming out in favour of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, and the policy of strength (armament drives and war preparations) persistently pursued by the aggressive circles of the United States is becoming more and more unpopular. It is possible to achieve the progressive relaxation of international tension provided all the countries and peoples that desire peace stand firm for peace and co-operation, provided they stand firm against war and the formation of antagonistic military blocs.

During the Geneva Conference, an improvement was brought about in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom. This will help to increase the possibilities of establishing normal relations between China and the countries of the West. The period under review has also witnessed fresh developments in trade and cultural interchange between China and Western countries.

The fact that in restoring peace in Indo-China the Geneva Conference has also succeeded in reaching agreement in principle on the settlement of relevant political questions, holds out new hopes for a political settlement of the Korean question. The work of the Conference on the Korean question was suspended not because the possibility of achieving unit of views on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question at the Geneva Conference did not exist, but because the United States Government and its puppet Syngman Rhee clique refused to negotiate and were afraid of reaching any agreement. Lately, they have been openly clamouring for the dissolution of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, with the design of undermining the Korean Armistice Agreement. This shows still more

clearly that the United States has no intention of settling the Korean question peacefully. However, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question has in no way been struck off the agenda. We hold firmly that it is necessary to settle the question of Korea's peaceful unification as soon as possible, under conditions favourable to Korea's national unity and to the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and the world.

The aggressive circles of the United States have not only undermined peace and created division on the questions of Korea and Indo-China ; they are also promoting the establishment of antagonistic military blocs in the Far East, South-East Asia and the Middle East, and creating new tension in Asia. But what the peoples of Asia want is peace and co-operation, not war and antagonism. The Delegation of the People's Republic of China proposed at the Geneva Conference that Asian countries should consult among themselves and make joint efforts to safeguard the peace and security of Asia by mutually assuming obligations. This proposition of ours does not envisage the exclusion of any country.

During the period when the sessions of the Geneva Conference at the ministerial level were in recess, I accepted, upon instructions, the invitations of the Indian and Burmese Governments to pay visits to India and Burma, and I had successive talks in India with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and in Burma with Prime Minister U Nu. A Chinese Indian Joint Statement was issued on June 28, 1954. In these two joint statements, the three governments concerned agreed to base and guide their relations between China and India and between China and Burma on the five fundamental principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. We are of the opinion that these five principles concerning peaceful co-existence should likewise be applied to relations between other nations and to international relations generally. When I discussed the question of restoring peace in Indo-China with President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at our meeting on the Sino-Vietnamese border, President Ho expressed the view that these five principles are fully applicable to the consolidation and development of friendly relations between Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We believe that if these five principles win support from more countries, even the fears and apprehensions prevailing between nations which have been antagonistic to each other would give place to a sense of security and mutual confidence ; and in that case it would be possible to establish more and wider areas of peace in Asia, and to prevent these areas from being reduced to both ends of war and the organisation of antagonistic military blocs by the aggressive circles of the United States. In line with this policy, the Central People's Government will make unremitting efforts for the establishment of collective peace in Asia.

The Chinese people are as concerned about peace in Europe as about peace in Asia. Following the Geneva Conference, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the German Democratic Republic. The Premiers of China and Germany on July 25, 1954, issued a communique on their talks. Both sides agreed that the rearming of West Germany and Japan by the United States is not designed to build up the power of Germany and Japan to defend themselves, but to threaten peace in Europe and Asia. Consequently, the struggle against the rearming of West Germany and Japan has become a common task for all peace-loving peoples. With regard to the situation in Europe, the peaceful unification of Germany is of vital importance. We firmly oppose the reactionary U.S. policy of reviving German militarism and perpetuating the division of Germany, and we should heartedly support the great struggle of the whole German people for the peaceful unification of their country.

In order to safeguard peace in Europe and create conditions favourable to the peaceful settlement of the German question, the Government of the Soviet Union proposed on July 24, 1954 the convening of a conference of European countries to discuss the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. Again on August 4, the Soviet Government proposed that the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America meet in August-September, of this year for consultation on the question of convening a conference of European countries and on the German question. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports these two proposals of the Soviet Government. The policy of aggression pursued by the bellicose circles of the United States to create antagonistic military blocs in Europe, is wholly against the interests of European collective security. It is our hope that the peoples of Europe, after suffering the horrors of two world wars, will be able to live in peace. Once a system of collective security in Europe is established, it will help to safeguard not only the peace of Europe but also the peace of Asia and the world.

After visiting the German Democratic Republic, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the People's Republic of Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Mongolia. In the course of our visit to these four brother countries we acquired a keen appreciation of the growing strength and mighty solidarity of all the fraternal countries headed by the Soviet Union. We saw with our own eyes that the peoples of these countries are building up their homelands and strengthening the forces for world peace with incomparable enthusiasm and selfless labour. It is our conviction that with the ever-growing might and prosperity of all the brother countries headed by the Soviet Union with their solidarity and with the concerted efforts of all peace-loving nations and peoples of the world, all acts of aggression and threats of war can certainly be defeated.

IV

As have stated, the aggressive circles of the United States have always been hostile to the People's Republic of China. They have continually attempted to intervene military in China and threaten us with war from three fronts ; Taiwan, Korea and Indo-China. Now the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China have gradually reduced tension in Asia, and, precisely because of this the aggressive circles of the United States, to create new tension, seek to extend armed intervention by more intensive use of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, hiding in Taiwan, to wage a war of harassment and destruction against our mainland and coastal areas.

Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the Chinese people, has entrenched himself with his traitorous group in Taiwan ; oppressing and exploiting our compatriots in Taiwan ; conspiring with the United States aggressors ; and engaging in shameless acts of national betrayal. Directed and assisted by the United States aggressors, the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors has been carrying on an increasingly reckless war of harassment and destruction against our South-East coastal areas and island, slaughtering our fellow countrymen, robbing the fishermen along the coast and sending special agents by parachute and other means to carry out sinister activities on our mainland. This gang of traitors defrauds and victimizes overseas Chinese, pillages their property and lures their youth to serve as its cannon-fodder. In true pirate fashion, this traitor group loots and hold up ships of various countries trading with our country. Shielded by United States naval and air forces and relying on the training given by the United States 'Military Assistance Advisory Group,' it continues to reorganize its armed forces and boast of preparations to attack the mainland, wildly ambitious to restore its criminal fascist rule and convert all China into a United States colony.

Since occupying Taiwan, the United States Government has seized military, political and economic control of Taiwan and turned it into a United States colony and military base for attacking our country. The United States Government forcibly keeps the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor group in the United Nations to pose as representatives of China. Recently, negotiations for the conclusion of a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty between the aggressive circles of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors have been held simultaneously in Washington and Taipeh. Meanwhile, aggressive circles of the United States are attempting to whip together a so-called North-East Asia Defence Alliance composed of Japanese reactionaries, the Syngman Rhee clique and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. The aggressive circles of the United States have even sent their own naval and air forces to make a continuous show of

force and carry on provocations along our borders, and to give support to the blockade of our coast by the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. Only July 26 this year, United States military aircraft brazenly attacked our patrol aircraft over Hainan Island, Chinese territory, and shot down two of them. All this shows that, though they have substained repeated defeats, the aggressive circles of the United States do not hesitate to restore to desperate measures showing perpetual enmity with the 600 million people of our country. Clearly, these activities are extremely grave provocations against the Chinese people as well as other peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of China once again declares : Taiwan is inviolable Chinese territory, its occupation by the United States absolutely cannot be tolerated, and it is equally intolerable to have Taiwan placed under United Nations trusteeship. The liberation of Taiwan is an exercise of China's sovereignty and China's own internal affair ; we will brook no foreign interference. Any treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang entrenched in Taiwan are illegal and void. If any foreign aggressors dare to try hinder the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, if they dare to infringe upon our sovereignty and violate our territorial integrity, if they dare to interfere in our internal affairs, they must take all the grave consequences of such acts of aggression upon themselevens.

In their relations with the three States of Indo-China, the nations participating in the Geneva Conference have undertaken to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of these States, and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs. We hold that these principles should apply to the relations among all nations. China has no intention of encroaching on the territory of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any encroachment on her own territory by other nations. China has no intention of infringing the sovereignty of other nations, and will no circumstances tolerate any infringement of her own sovereignty by other nations. China has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in China's internal affairs by other nations. China will never menace the security of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any menace to China's security by other nations.

It should be pointed out that in continuing their occupation of Taiwan, their protection of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang and their armed intervention, the aggressive circles of the United States are not only infringing our territorial integrity and sovereignty and interfering in our internal affairs ; they are also increasing the threat of war in the Far East and heightening international tension, thus preventing China and the other countries concening from enjoying the benefits of peace. It was precisely in these circumstances,

with the aggressive circles of the United States creating tension in the Far East and shielding the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in its war against our coastal areas and islands, that there occurred recently the unfortunate incident of the shooting down, by mistake, of a British civil aircraft. We sympathize with the victims in this unfortunate incident. At the same time, we deem it all the more essential to oppose the provocations of the United States, its armed intervention and threats of war in the Far East, because the U.S. policy of aggression and war is the source of all calamities and misfortunes.

It should be pointed out that the vocation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique of national betrayal is to provoke a world war. This handful of traitors is not only the public enemy of the Chinese people, but also of the all peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world. In order that the peace secured through the armistice in Indo-China may be consolidated and extended, in order that the five principles of peaceful co-existence may be carried through, it is imperative that the People's Republic of China liberate Taiwan and do away with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang.

The struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is a struggle in defence of world peace.

The liberation of Taiwan is a glorious historic mission of the Chinese people. Only by liberating Taiwan from the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, only by fulfilling this glorious task will we achieve complete unification of our great motherland, win complete victory in the great task of liberating the Chinese people, will we better safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the world.

The people of China and the People's Liberation Army must redouble their efforts in every field, heighten their vigilance, avoid the pitfall of conceit, over-come all difficulties, and struggle to the end to fulfil the glorious task of liberating Taiwan and defending world peace.

**JOINT DECLARATION OF ALL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES
AND PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONCERNING THE LIBE-
RATION OF TAIWAN**

August 22, 1965.

We solemnly proclaim to the whole world : Taiwan is China's territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.

Sixty years ago, Japanese imperialism forcibly occupied Taiwan. The people of China waged a prolonged struggle and, in the end, as a result of victory in the great War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, brought our fellow countrymen in Taiwan back into the embrace of the motherland on October 25, 1945. The Chinese people cannot tolerate the usurpation of control over Taiwan by the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang ; they cannot tolerate the occupation of Taiwan by the aggressive clique of the United States.

The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, shielded by the United States Government, fled to Taiwan and turned it into a den of traitors. This gang of traitors has in the course of the past few years, sold out the abundant products and natural resources of Taiwan to the United States Government in return for military aid. It has tried to crush the patriotic movement in Taiwan, massacred our patriotic countrymen, pillaged the people's wealth, compelled the youth of Taiwan to serve as cannon-fodder, and plunged our compatriots there into a hell of misery and privation. This gang of traitors is deceiving and persecuting the overseas Chinese, plundering their property and suborning their youth into joining its bandit forces. Relying on the protection of United States naval and air forces, this gang of traitors has made attacks on the off-shore islands of the motherland, and bombed its coastal cities. It has attacked and plundered merchant vessels belonging to or trading with the motherland. It has dispatched secret agents to carry out sabotage. It has robbed and murdered fishermen ; and has carried on a continuous war of harassment and destruction against the motherland. This gang of traitors has recently engaged in further machination to conclude a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty with the United States Government and to establish a military alliance with it for the purpose of trying to launch an offensive against our mainland in co ordination with United States armed forces and provoking a world war which would plunge mankind into unprecedented calamity. This gang of traitors is the public enemy not only of the Chinese people but of all the peoples of Asia and the world.

It is well-known that the aggressive circles of the United States have always been hostile to the People's Republic of China. In June 1950 the United States Government unleashed its war of aggression against Korea, intensified its intervention in the Indo-China War and at the same time dispatched the U.S. Seventh Fleet to invade the Taiwan Straits and occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan. By so doing the United States Government violated the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations which recognized Taiwan as Chinese territory, and to which it was itself a signatory.

The Korean war has now ended, peace has been restored to Indo-China and international tensions is being gradually reduced. But the aggressive circles of the United States, unwilling to accept their defeat, are taking further steps in support of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors seeking to extend armed intervention and the threat of war against our country. They are now in the midst of schemes for signing a 'bilateral mutual security treaty' with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. They are trying to whip together a so-called North East Asia Defence Alliance embracing the reactionary forces in Japan, the Syngman Rhee clique and the Chiang Kai-shek group. They are making every effort to bring round Britain and France, and to coerce certain countries in the Western Pacific and South-East Asia into organizing a 'South-East Asia Treaty Organization'. Without a doubt the People's Republic of China is the chief target of this series of sinister moves by the aggressive circles of the United States.

We Chinese are a peace-loving people. The People's Republic of China pursues a consistent policy of peace. Premier and Foreign Minister Chou-En-lai said in his report on Foreign Affairs on August 11, 1954 :

China has no intention of encroaching on the territory of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any encroachment on her own territory by other nations. China has no intention of infringing the sovereignty of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any infringement of her own sovereignty by other nations. China has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in China's internal affairs by other nations. China will never menace the security of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any menace to Chin's security by other nations.

This represents the common will of the 600 million people of China.

To safeguard the security and territorial integrity of our motherland and the peace of Asia and the world, the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Taiwan is an inseparable

part of Chinese territory. Its occupation by the United States cannot be tolerated ; and it would be equally intolerable to have it placed under United Nations trusteeship. To liberate Taiwan and to eliminate the Chinag Kai-shek traitor gang is an exercise of China's sovereignty. It is China's own internal affair, in which we will brook no interference by any foreign countries. If any foreign aggressors dare to try to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, they thereby interfere in China's internal affairs, infringe on China's sovereignty and violate her territorial integrity ; and must therefore, take upon themselves all the grave consequences of such aggressive action.

To liberate Taiwan and eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors is the sacred, historic task of the Chinese people. Only by freeing Taiwan from the tryanniaal rule of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang can we, the Chinese people, aecomplish the complete unification of our great motherland, achieve total victory in the mighty cause of our liberation, and preserve the peace of Asia and the rest of the world. We warmly support the great call of the Central People's Government to liberate Taiwan and eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. We pledge ourselves to redouble our efforts, to strengthen our work in every field so as to accomplish this historic task.

To liberate Taiwan, the people of the whole nation must strengthen their bonds of unity, heighten their vigilance, increase production, practise economy, raise labour productivity and struggle for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan o' national construction !

To liberate Taiwan, all commanders and fighters of the ground, naval and air forces of the People's Liberation Army must intensify their political and military training, master modern military technique, show their revolutionary heroism, and strive to win every battle until the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is wiped out !

To liberate Taiwan, all our fellow countrymen, especially those in the coastal areas and islands of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces who are at the forefront of the struggle, must keep ever stricter guard, eliminate secret agents, and give every support to the People's Liberation Army in the struggle against the enemy !

To liberate Taiwan, our compatriots on Taiwan itself must live up to their glorious revolutionary tradition, show their patriotism, close their ranks, build up reserves of strength, and prepare for the coming of the People's Liberation Army !

The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is doomed to extinction. But for all those who ran away to Taiwan together with the traitor Chiang there is a way out. The policy of our Central People's Government is lenient. With the exception of Ching Kai-shek himself any one of them may qualify for lenient treatment and by performing meritorious service redeem his crimes and obliterate his past record.

The Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan is a struggle in defence of world peace. Justice is on our side.

The sympathy and support of the world are with us. We Chinese people will assuredly overcome all difficulties and achieve final victory in the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan.

People of all China ! Unite more closely and struggle to liberate Taiwan, oppose American intervention, safeguard the security of our motherland and defend world peace !

The National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

The Communist Party of China

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang
The Democratic League of China

The Democratic National Construction Association of China

Non-Party Democrats of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

The China Association for the Promotion of Democracy

The Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party

The China Chih Kung Tang

The Chiu San Society

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League

The New Democratic Youth League of China

The All-China Federation of Democratic Youth

The All China Students Federation

The All-China Federation of Scientific Societies

The All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce.

PART III

INTERNATIONAL LAW

CODIFICATION

Q. 1. Write a critical note on Codification of International Law, indicating several attempts at such codification and the limits and prospects of such codification. (I.A.S. 49)

Or,

State the progress in the Codification of International Law from the end of the 19th century up to the present day. Are you in favour of Codification ? Give reasons. (I.A.S. 52)

Ans. A code is a consolidation of the statute law or a statute collecting all the laws relating to particular subject. Codification is the process of translating into statutes or conventions, customary law and rules arising from the decisions of tribunals with little or no alteration of law. It secures by means of general conventions, agreements among the States upon certain topics of International Law and acts as a check whereby the determination of a particular law is not left to the caprices of judges. It also tends to reconcile conflicting views and render agreement possible among different States.

Short History of Codification

The idea of Codification of the Law of Nations was first mooted by Bentham at the end of the 18th century. He suggested a Utopian International Law, which could be basis of everlasting peace between the civilised States.

The National Convention

The National Convention of France resolved in the year 1792 to proclaim a Declaration of Rights of Nations. Abbe Gregoire, who had been charged with the duty of drafting a declaration by the Convention, produced in the year 1793 a draft of 21 articles, which was eventually rejected by the Convention.

Declaration of Paris

Real Codification was aimed at under the Declaration of Paris, which was signed by U.K. France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, Sardinia, at the end of Crimeans war. It laid down four principles :—

- (i) Privateering is to be abolished ;
- (ii) Neutral flag covers enemy goods with the exception of contraband of war ;

- (iii) Neutral goods under enemy flag are not liable to capture except contraband of war ; and
- (iv) Blockade in order to be real and binding must be effective.

Codification by individual writers

Real attempt at codification was made in 1861 by an Austrian Jurist Alfons, who published at Leipzig a Code of International Law.

In 1863, Prof. Francis Leiber of Columbia University Law School New York, drafted the laws of War in a body of rules, which the United States published as 'Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field.'

In 1861, Bluntschli, celebrated Swiss writer published a draft Code of Law of Nations, which received wide publicity and was translated into several languages.

In the year, 1872 David Dudley Field published at New York 'Draft Outlines of an International Code'.

In 1873, the Institute of International Law comprising jurists of all nations was founded at Ghant in Belgium. which has produced a number of drafts concerning various parts of International Law. In the same year was also founded the institute for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, now termed as International Law Association.

Brussels Conference (1874)

In 1874, at the initiative of Emperor Alexander II of Russia, an International Conference was convened for the purpose of discussing a draft code of Law of Nations concerning Land Warfare. This Conference drafted a body of 60 articles under the name of the Declaration of Brussels, but articles were not ratified by powers.

The First Hague Conference (1899)

In the year, the Hague Conference, convened on the initiative of the Emperor Nicholas II of Russia, produced two important Conventions, in the form of Code viz.,

- (i) Convention with respect to Land Warfare ;
- (ii) Convention for the Pacific Settlement of Disputes.

The Conference also laid down certain rules regard Aerial Warfare, and was attended 26 powers. Its conventions are landmarks in the Codification of International Law.

The Second Hague Conference (1907)

This Conference produced 13 Conventions, some of which are codification of parts of Maritime Law. These conventions rank among the law-making treaties. Apart from the Conventions on the limitations of employment force for the recovery of contract debts and opening of hostilities, they were devoted to rules of warfare and neutrality in land and maritime warfare. This Conference was attended by 44 independent sovereign States. The Permanent Court of Arbitration was established as a result of the deliberations of these two conferences.

Declaration of London (1909)

An attempt was made at the London Naval Conference of 1909 to settle the rights and liabilities of neutral trade including the subjects of blockade, contraband, unneutral service, the destruction of neutral prizes and compensation for unlawful seizure etc. Its decisions were included in the Declaration of London, but the declaration did not come into force for want of ratification.

Codification by Regional Groups

As a result of the composition of a Committee of international jurists to carry on the work of codification in furtherance of the aims of a Conference of American States at Mexico in 1901-1902, the American Institute of International Law, submitted a number of codification proposals in 1924. In 1928, the American Conference adopted the seven Conventions e.g., Status of aliens, Asylum etc.

The League of Nations

The League of Nations took a keen interest in the codification of International Law. In September 1924, it appointed a Committee of the expert to report on the codification of International Law and select topics ripe for codification. In its report in 1927, the Committee submitted seven topics as fit for codification, out of which the Assembly of the League of Nations selected the following three topics to be dwelt upon in the Hague Conference of 1930 :—

1. Nationality
2. Territorial Waters
3. Responsibility of a State for damage done in its territory to the persons or property of foreigners.

The Conference resolved itself into three Committee for the three topics. As a result of the deliberation of the First Committee Nationality the Conference adopted a Convention relating to the conflict of nationality, Statelessness and Double nationality. This

Convention was subsequently ratified most of the States. No Convention with respect to other two topics, however, be adopted by other two Committees.

The U.N. Charter and Codification

According to article 13 (1) of the Charter of United Nations, "the General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in political field and encouraging the progressive development of International Law and its codification". In order to implement this article an International Law Commission was set up by the General Assembly in the year 1947. After due deliberations, the Commission drew up a provisional list of 14 topics for codification, and out of these it decided to give priority to the following three topics :—

1. Law of Treaties
2. Arbitral Procedure
3. Regime of the High Seas.

These three persons were entrusted with this work and Government of States were requested to supply the data for the codification.

As the International Law is developing and expanding, the task of the Commission to codify the law is becoming more and more complex and difficult.

Advantages of Codification

Codification of International Law is both desirable and practicable. It is a historical necessity. The advantages of Codification may be summed up as under :—

- (1) Codification tends to render the law readily ascertainable and to obtain uniformity over a large area.
- (2) It reconciles conflicting views among different States and binds them to a large part of law.
- (3) A carefully close-knit code greatly assists the judge in dispensing justice. By the process of interpretation, the Judges can deal with many a fault that usually creep in the codification.
- (4) The growth of law through custom and precedents goes on very slowly and cannot meet the needs of a complex and dynamic civilization. The codification, therefore, becomes a necessity to deal with these developments.

(5) There are numerous lacunae in the existing state of International Law, so that many matters have not yielded to any rule. Codification will fill these lacunae and bring uniformity in the system.

Disadvantages

- (1) Codification would strike at the very root of the organic growth and future development of International Law.
- (2) Codification would lead to too much formalism and conservatism. This drawback may be remedied by a progressive interpretation of law.
- (3) Codification would result in a rigid system of law, which will be defective in a modern dynamic civilization.
- (4) The Law of Nations is not yet ripe for codification, since no broad and certain basis exists for the practice of the States. Only a partial codification is possible.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that there are more advantages than disadvantages in codification. There every effort should be made for the codification of the International Law.

RECOGNITION OF STATES

Q. 2. Is recognition of States and Governments in the discretion of the recognizing State? Discuss the various theories of recognition in International Law.

(I.A.S. 1960, 57, 53, 51, 49)

Ans. Recognition of State means the fact by which one or more States acknowledge on a definite territory the existence of human society, politically organised, independent of another existing State and capable of observing the obligations of International Law. It implies that in the opinion of the recognizing State the nascent community possesses the requirements of statehood, and is therefore, a normal subject of international right, and duties. Thus recognition is one of the chief methods of putting the seal of approval upon the existence of a State.

Recognition of Governments

Recognition of a Government pre-supposes a recognized State and comes into question only when the existing Government of a recognized State is overthrown by a *coup d'état*, or revolt or instruction. The instances Civil War in Spain and establishment of Franco Regime, the 1917 Revolution in Russia and consequent Communist Government overthrowing the Tsarist regime, establishment of Communist Government in China in place of defeated Chiang-Ki-shek regime are such instances.

In such cases before according recognition, two tests are applied viz., (i) whether the new Government is the *de facto* Government in effective control of the State, exercising its authority over a substantial portion of the territory, without any effective opposition; and (ii) whether the new Government is prepared to carry out the obligations imposed on it by the International Law and the Charter of the United Nations Organisations. This was so done by the United States of America, when she granted recognition to the new Government of France, established as a result of French Revolution. The same tests were applied in the case of Russia, when she emerged as a result of the Revolution of 1917.

The Theories of Recognition

There are two theories about the recognition of States viz., the constitutive theory and the declaratory or evidentiary theory.

Constitutive Theory

According to this theory, it is the act of recognition alone, which creates statehood and clothes a new Government with authority in International sphere. It is the process by which a political community acquires personality in International Law by becoming a member of family of nations.

Hegel was the founder of this school. According to Anzilotti, since the rules of International Law have grown up by common consent of the States, a subject of International Law comes into being with the conclusion of the first agreement as expressed by the treaty of recognition. Such a recognition is reciprocal and constitutive, creating rights and obligations which did not exist before.

Holland observes that a State cannot be said to have attained maturity, unless it is stamped with the seal of recognition, which is indispensable to the full enjoyment of rights, which it connotes.

Oppenheim also leans in favour of this theory. His argument is that as the basis of Law of Nations is the common consent of the civilised States, statehood alone does not imply the membership of the Family of Nations. Those States, which are members are either original members, because the Law of Nations grew up gradually between them through customs and treaties, and there are members, who have been recognised by the body of the members already in existence, when they were born. 'A State is and becomes International person through recognition only and exclusively'.

The recognition of Poland and Czechoslovakia through the instrumentality of the Treaty of Versailles lends support to the Constitutive theory.

This theory presents serious difficulties. It would oblige us to say that an unrecognised State has neither rights nor duties at International Law, which is an absurd suggestion. Again, the status of a State, recognised by some States and not recognised by others presents a queer phenomenon. The Lin-Shao-Chi Government of Red China, although recognised by India, U.K., U.S.S.R. and more than a dozen other States, has not been accorded recognition by U.S.A., and other countries has not been admitted to the membership of the United Nations. The State of Red China still continues to exist in spite of non-recognition by America and its non-admission to the U.N.O. And yet the U.N. Officers concluded cease-fire negotiation in Korea with the Red Chinese representatives.

In *Wulfsohn v. Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic* (1923), it was declared that the Soviet Union, though unrecognised by the United States, was immune from jurisdiction by American Courts. Also the political existence of a State is independent of recognition by other States.

Declaratory Theory

Evidentary or declaratory theory lays down that statehood exists prior to its recognition and the act of recognition is merely a formal acknowledgement of an already established fact. A State can exist without recognition, but it gets international character only when it is recognised. Recognition is purely a political act and it proceeds from political considerations.

The exponents of this theory are Hall, Wanger, Fischer, Pitt Cobbett and Brierly. According to Prof. Hall, States being the persons governed by International Law, communities are subject to law from the moment, they acquire the marks of a State. Brierly is of the view that a State may exist without being recognised and if it does exist in fact, then whether or not it has been formally recognised by other States, it has a right to be treated by them as a State.

It is said in support of this view that Japan was possessed of all the elements of statehood even long before the formal establishment of relations with the Western world in 1854.

Article 3 of Montevideo Convention (1933) stated that "the political existence of the State is independent of recognition by other States".

It was also observed in the German Polish Arbitral Tribunal (1929) that recognition of a State is not constitutive, but merely a declaratory act inasmuch as the State exists by itself and recognition is nothing but ascertainment of that existence.

The Declaratory theory is further strengthened by the fact that recognition is retroactive i.e., it dates back to the time when the recognised community comes into existence thereby showing that the State existed much prior to the date of its recognition. This has been reaffirmed in the *Luther v. Sagor* (1921) and the *Tinoco Concession Case* (1923).

Correct View

The correct view appears to be that recognition is both declaratory and constitutive. As Dr. Lauterpacht observes it is declaratory of the simple fact of existence of a political community, after ascertaining the facts of statehood in the conventional way. In such declaration of statehood, recognition is constitutive of certain legal consequences.

Starke also shares the same view, when he observes that the truth lies somewhere between the two theories. The one or the other theories must be applicable to the different sets of facts. The bulk of international practice supports the evidentiary theory inasmuch as while recognition has often been given for political reasons and has tended, therefore, to be constitutive in character, countries generally seek to give or refuse it in accordance with legal principles and precedents. Moreover, a mere refusal by a single State to recognise could not affect the situation, if a great number of other States had already given their recognition.

EQUALITY OF STATES

Q. 8. State what do you know by equality of States. To what extent does modern International Law recognize the doctrine. (I.A.S. 1958)

Or,

Comment "No principle of general Law is more universally acknowledged than the perfect equality of States". (I.A.S. 1950)

Ans. The doctrine of equality of States was introduced early in the history of International Law by the Naturalist writers. It subsists up till today and has got very important consequences. Article 1 of the Charter of the United Nations recognises the doctrine of equality of States and provides that the purposes of the United Nations among other things is to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights. Again Article 2 of the Charter lays down that the organisation 'is based on the principle of sovereign equality of all its members'. According to Oppenheim various States irrespect of size, population, power, degree of civilization, wealth etc., enjoy equality before law due to the following reasons :—

- (i) whenever a question arises, which has to be settled by consent, every State has a right to one vote only ;
- (ii) legally—although not politically—the vote of the weakest and smallest State has as much weight as the vote of the largest and most powerful State ;
- (iii) one State can claim jurisdiction over another. Therefore, although States can sue in foreign Courts, they cannot as a rule be sued there, unless they voluntarily submit to the jurisdiction of the foreign Court concerned ; and
- (iv) courts on one State as a rule do not question the legality of the official acts on another foreign State in so far as they purport to take effect within the sphere of latter's jurisdiction.

Although in theory States enjoy equal rights and have one vote each, nevertheless in actual operation it is the vote of the big powers which ultimately counts. It is they, who swing the balance. The glaring inequality of States in actual practice is apparent from the

fact that the Big Five *viz.*, China, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K. and France are permanent members of the Security Council and possess rights of vetoing any decision of the Security Council in the matters of substance. Again the diplomatic envoys of certain powers *viz.*, U.S.A., U.K. and France are designated as Ambassadors, while those of lesser powers, *e.g.*, Switzerland are ranked as Ministers only.

This anomaly has been explained by Lauterpacht, who holds that legal equality must not be confused with political equality. He further states that the enormous difference between States as regards their strength are the result of a natural inequality, which apart from ranks and titles find its expression in the province of policy-political States.

The history of the nineteenth century Europe amply fortifies the fact that though States were entitled to enjoy certain amount of legal equality, they were far from doing so in the case of political policies. Big powers, by virtue of their population, size and strength often had the upper hand in practically all the matters that concerned Europe. The *Congress of Vienna* (1815) reduced to a vanishing point the notion of equality of States, when the Big Four powers, *viz.*, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Great Britain became the dispensers of small State destiny. The *Treaty of Paris* (1856) repeated the same story and numerous other conferences, treaties and Conventions proved that the theory of equality of States do not hold waters.

In the twentieth century, the League of Nations legalised the same practice by conferring upon Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan the permanent membership of the League Council and fixing for the members in the Council different strengths for their representations there. Again in the case of the United Nations Organisations, the veto power of the Big Five have set at naught the theoretical equality of voting in the Security Council by the other members. It is, therefore, difficult for us to see Oppenheim's theory eye to eye: only this much can be said that States enjoy certain amount of legal equality, but in political matters, the Big powers have the real and final say.

STATE SUCCESSION

Q. 4. What do you understand by the doctrine of succession of international persons? How far does such effect (a) political rights and duties, (b) local rights and duties, (c) fiscal property and debts, (d) contracts of the previous international persons?

(I.A.S. 1957,48)

Ans. State Succession occurs, when a territory passes from the supremacy of one State to that of another. The State, the territory of which passes to another State is termed as the predecessor State, while succeeding State is called Successor State. According to Oppenheim, "A succession of International Persons occurs, when one or more International Persons take the place of another International Person, in consequence of certain changes in the latter's conditions". A State may succeed another State by incorporating a certain portion of the latter's territory or it may be split up into two or more States, or new States may emerge out of the territory of a dismembered State. A State may merge voluntarily into another by treaty or its territory may be forcibly annexed by another or by several other States.

Kinds of Succession

Succession is either universal or partial.

Universal Succession

- (i) when one State is completely absorbed by another State as a result of conquest or annexation e.g., South African Republic was annexed by Great Britain in 1901, Korea by Japan in 1910 ;
- (ii) when several States agree to merge into a Federal State or Union, e.g., merger of Egypt and Syria into United Arab Republic in 1958 ;
- (iii) when one or more International Persons take the place of another International Person by division of a former single State, each of the independent State being Successor State.

Partial Succession

It takes place :—

- (i) by succession, when another State is established by a part of the territory, breaking off from the parent State and thereby gaining independence e.g., separation of United States from Great Britain in 1776 ;
- (ii) by cession or conquest, when one State acquires a part of the territory of another and assume sovereignty over the portion ceded, e.g. cession of California to the United States in 1872 ;
- (iii) by dismemberment, when a full sovereign State loses part of its independence through incorporation into Federal State.

Consequences of State Succession

The question whether the replacement of one International Person by another involves a succession to the rights and duties of the former or not, has not been free from doubt. Oppenheim has maintained that "with the extinction of an international person, disappear its rights and duties as a person". Others are of the opinion, that revolution of rights and duties does follow from the succeeding State. On account of the uncertainty of the International Law of succession, usually all possible contingencies are covered.

Treaty (or Political) Rights or Duties

The rights and duties according to the succeeding States depend upon the nature of succession. In the case of universal succession, the successor State remains and the same international person, while the predecessor State become totally extinct. Political treaties such as treaties of alliance, neutrality or arbitration become extinct and invalid, and the successor State does not succeed to such rights and duties of extinct State. Regarding commercial, navigational and extradition treaties it all depends upon the attitude of the annexing State, whether to follow those treaties or to repudiate them. The correct view is that they are not subject to succession. It was held by the Supreme Court of United States in *Terlinden v. Ames*, that the extradition treaty made between U.S.A. and Prussia prior to formation of German empire continued to be operative after the Union on the ground that the treaty had been officially recognised by Germany.

However, the successor State is bound to obey and give effect to such treaties, which concern directly the territory of the defunct State e.g., treaties creating a servitude or a right of passage. The absorbing state is also under an obligation to respect multilateral

conventions of universal application. Thus when Burma was separated from India in 1837, it was agreed that Burma would be bound to continue to observe and apply all International Labour Conventions, in which she previously participated as a part of India.

Local Rights and Duties

A genuine succession, however, takes place with regard to such international rights and duties of the extinct State as are locally connected with its land, rivers, main roads, railways and the like. The treaties of extinct State concerning boundary lines, repair of main roads, navigation on rivers and the same remain valid, and all rights and duties arising from such treaties of extinct State devolve on the absorbing State.

Public Property and Public Rights

When one State succeeds *de facto* to another, it succeeds to all the public and proprietary rights. State property and other funds pass on to succeeding State. The successor State takes all assets of the vanquished State including such assets as State funds, funds invested abroad, movable and immovable property. It also acquires the right to collect taxes due to the replaced State. The succeeding State has also a right to the allegiance of those, who were formerly subjects of the extinct State and remain on its territory.

The Permanent Court of International Justice held in the case of Polish Upper Silesia Case (1926) that State Succession to the public property of the annexed State is customary principle of International Law even in the absence of treaty. The decision of Haile Selassie v. Cable and Wireless Co. Ltd. (1939) also tend to accept the same view.

Contractual Liability

There is a considerable body of authority among taxt-writers inclined to the view that the Successor State is bound by the contracts of the extinct State. The new State becomes liable for all local debts and contractual liabilities. It was held by the Permanent Court of International Justice in the 'German settlers in Poland Case' (1923) that private rights acquired under existing law do not cease on the change of sovereignty. The Successor State is, however, justified in refusing to own the obligations of the ceded State which the latter incurred for the purpose of war against the former.

With regard to concessionary rights granted by the State before its extinction, they usually survive the extinction and bind the absorbing State. The successor State is obliged to respect the rights, which were legitimately conferred by the predecessor on a foreigner. This view has been endorsed by the Permanent Court of Justice in the Palestine Concessions Case (1924).

Contracts, however, purely, personal to the extinct State do not survive.

Public Debts

There is a great divergence of practice as regards the succession to public debts. The sounder view appears to be that it is purely a matter of discretion and the practice has varied greatly. Of late opinion has been gaining ground that the succeeding State assumes the public debts of its predecessor, unless they relate to a purpose distinctly against the interest of the inhabitants of the territory transferred, contracted for financing of wars or other hostile undertakings against the successor State. The arrangements with regard to public debts are usually made in treaties.

When the State territory becomes the territory of several States the debts are proportionately taken over by the succeeding States by a prior agreement. This view has been affirmed in the Austrian Empire Succession Case. In the case of succession to the public debts of a State, which cedes a part of its territory only, but continues to exist, the question assumes greater difficulty. The usual practice in such cases is that the succeeding State agrees by means of a treaty to take over a part of the debts. Thus by the Treaty of Versailles (1919), the States to which German territory was ceded, took over part of the German Nations debit constituted on the 1st August, 1914, on the basis of proportionality of benefits received and financial capacity. However, it was laid down in the Ottoman Public Debt Arbitration (1925) that despite existing precedents, a State to which a part of another State has been ceded, is under no legal obligations to shoulder a part of the public debt of the ceded State.

Torts (I.A.S. 48)

The law on this point shows ununiformity in State practice and is now believed in all quarters that a successor State can never be made responsible for the delicts of the predecessor State. Sir Cecil Hurt is of the opinion that since the conqueror annexes merely the territory of the former State and not the state itself nor its government, it is impossible to hold the conqueror liable for the torts of the government which has been displaced, because the torts were the torts of the government and not the torts of the territory. Oppenheim, however, thinks that when the extinct State had acknowledged its liability and compensation been agreed and a debit had arisen, then the succeeding State ought to discharge that liability.

In the case of Robert E. Brown Claims, after Great Britain had acquired the territory of the South African Republic, the U.S.A. Government laid the claim of its subject Robert E. Brown for the deprivation of mining rights by the Republic in South Africa, before

its conquest by Great Britain. It was held by Anglo American Tribunal in 1923 that the liability for the tort did not pass to the British Government. The decision in the Brown's case was followed in respect of injuries sustained by foreigners at the hands of the former Burmese Government.

Membership

It is settled that membership of the international organisations and the obligations incidental thereto do not pass over to a successor State. The Irish free State had applied for admission and was admitted to the League of Nations. Similarly, at the partition of India, the new Indian State continued to be a member of the United Nations Organisations, and Pakistan was subsequently admitted to membership as a new State on September 30, 1947.

Private Property and Private Rights

A cession of territory from one State to another affords no title to the successor State to the private property in the soil for succession merely refers to public rights of sovereignty and not to private property rights. The private rights of the inhabitants and their relations to each other, unless specially altered by the conqueror, remains the same. These views have been endorsed in the 'United States v. Percheron' and 'German Settlers in Poland' Case (1923).

Succession to Property lying in Foreign States

The Successor State may claim any State property in the territory over which it acquires sovereignty. In the case of suppression of a revolt, the parent State by virtue of its paramount title gets the property of the rebel government lying within its territory as well as in foreign States.

Laws

The civil law of the former sovereign continues unless changed by the successor State. Public law, however, changes with the transfer of sovereignty. Whatever public law continues to remain in operation after a territorial transfer derives its force as positive law owing to its acceptance by the acquiring State.

Nationality

The inhabitants of the ceded or vanquished territory become subjects of the conquering State. The treaties often make provisions for this contingency. A certain period of time is allowed to the inhabitants to decide as to which State they want to owe their allegiance. Thus, after the division an option to choose their nationality between India and Pakistan was given to former citizens of pre-partitioned India.

INTERVENTION

Q. 5. Discuss the Law of Intervention, with special reference to the Monroe Doctrine. Has that doctrine any legal significance ? (I.A.S. 1961)

Intervention

Ans. According to Oppenheim "Intervention is dictatorial interference by a State in the affairs of another State for the purpose of maintaining or altering the actual condition of thing". More friendly advice and general political influence do not come strictly under this term, as the essential requisites of intervention *viz.*, use of force or a threat to use force is lacking in them. The interference must take an imperative form—it should be forcible or backed by threat of force.

Kinds of Intervention

There are three kinds of intervention *viz.*,—

- (i) *Internal.* It is interference by one State between disputing Sections of the community in other State either for the protection of legitimate Government or the insurgents. The recent intervention of Communist China in the affairs of Korea by providing aid to North Koreans and the intervention on the part of Russian troops in the affairs of Hungary, are instances of internal intervention.
- (ii) *External.* It is an intervention in the foreign affairs of another State, such intervention being directed against the hostile relation on such State. This kind of intervention is tantamount to the declaration of war. The entry of Italy in the Second World War siding with Germany against Great Britain provides an example of external intervention.
- (iii) *Punitive.* It is only a mode of redress falling short of war for some alleged international wrongs. It is frequently carried out by stronger nations towards weaker nations. A pacific blockade to compel the observance of treaty engagements or to redress some breach of law affords an illustrations of this type of intervention.

Grounds of Intervention

'Intervention as a rule is, forbidden by the International Law' as it involves use of force or threat to use force and violation of terri-

torial supremacy, it conflicts with the International Law. 'In most cases, the question of intervention is a question of policy. But there are exceptional circumstances, in which it is a matter of right. It is generally justified on the following grounds :—

(1) Self-Preservation

The most important ground for intervention is based on the doctrine of self-preservation—intervention to ward off imminent danger to the intervening power. The right of self-preservation is no doubt a sacred right and must be protected, but intervention on this ground can be justified in the following circumstances :—

- (i) the danger to the intervening State must be direct and immediate, not contingent and remote ;
- (ii) the immediate cause for intervention must be sufficiently important to justify war ; and
- (iii) there must be no other way to meet the danger.

The important examples of the intervention in self-preservation are the case of Danish Fleet (1807), the case of Amelia Island (1817), the case of Caroline (1837) etc.

(2) Enforcement of Treaty Rights

A State is justified interfering in the affairs of another State, if the provisions of any treaty oblige the former to preserve the independence or neutrality of the latter. Such intervention does not violate any right of the independence, because the State that suffers has conceded such liberty of interference by treaty.

The Treaties of London of 1831 and 1839 guaranteed the integrity and neutrality of Belgium, but the invasion of Belgium by Germany in 1914 led to the intervention of Great Britain in pursuance of treaty rights by declaring war on Germany. Again, by the treaty of Havana, 1903, Cuba agreed that the United States might intervene for the purpose of Cuban independence etc. This right has been exercised by the United States on more than one occasion. The latest example is intervention by Russia in Hungarian affairs in 1956 due to Warsaw Pact.

(3) Grounds of Humanity

Another justification for intervention is based on the grounds of humanity. Lawerance observes that in the opinion of many writers such interventions are legal, but they cannot be brought within the ordinary rules of International Law, which does not impose on the States the obligation of preventing barbarity on the part of their neighbours.

During the Greek War of Independence the three Great powers, U.K., Russia and France had jointly intervened on the ground of abominable atrocities committed in the war, which had shocked the conscience of Europe. Similarly, in 1878, Russia intervened on the behalf of Christian minorities, while the Bulgarian atrocities were being committed by Turkey. The persecution of Jewish community during Hitler's regime evoked strong protests from several nations and was referred as a charge against Nazi war criminals at the Nuremberg.

(4) Balance of Power

Intervention is also sought on the ground of preserving balance of power. This ground has been an undoubted maxim of European diplomacy since the middle of the 17th century. But it is no more held justified as in effect, it upsets the balance more than it sets right.

The Crimean War of 1854-56 was undertaken by the Great Britain and the France with a view to protecting the Turkish Empire for the maintenance of balance of power among the States of Europe. Most of the interventions in the Balkan Peninsula should be regarded as interventions in consonance with the policy of balance of power. Intervention on the ground of preservation of the balance of power has been condemned by jurists of all ages.

(5) Protection of Persons and Property

Protection of the persons, property and interests on its nationals may provide justification for intervention. The necessity for protection may arise due to gross injustice or due to injury cause by unfair discrimination. The discriminatory treatment to the persons of Indian origin in South Africa by the Union Government has received strong criticism in the various resolutions adopted by the United Nations Organisations.

(6) Intervention in Civil Wars

With the establishment of the United Nations, there is no justification for intervention by individual States in the Civil wars of other States. Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations imposes an obligation on the States to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

(7) Protectorate

A State, which holds a protectorate has a right to intervene in all external affairs of the protected State.

(8) Violation of the Rules of Law of Nations

If a State in time of peace or war violates such rules of the Law of Nations as are universally recognised by custom or are laid down in law-making treaties, other States have a right to intervene and to make the delinquent submit to the rules concerned. Thus, if a State sought to extend its jurisdiction over the merchantmen of another State on high seas, not only would this be an affair between the two States concerned, but all other States will have a right to intervene because the freedom of open seas is a universally recognised principle.

Monroe Doctrine

The doctrine embodies a principle of American policy declines any European intervention in the affairs of the American continent. This doctrine was declared by the President Monroe of the United States, when in the year 1923, the reactionary "Holy Alliance" of Russia, Prussia and Austria began to help Spain to regain those possessions, which she had lost to the colonial people. According to this Document

- (i) "the American continents by the free and the independent condition which they have assumed and maintained are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European power" ;
- (ii) "that the United States had not intervened and never would intervene in the affairs of European nations" ;
- (iii) "that she will not allow intervention by the European powers in the affairs of those Latin-American States, which gained and maintained independence and whose independence has been recognised by the U.S.A. and that any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power cannot be interpreted in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States".

Legal Significance of the Doctrine

The Monroe Doctrine, as observed by the Oppenheim, is largely of a political and not legal character. It established a fundamental principle of American policy by declaring that there must be no territorial aggrandisement by a non-American power on American soil and also embodying the non-intervention by the United States of America in European politics. It asserted a claim of political hegemony by U.S.A. over the whole American Continent.

Intervention under the U.N. Charter

Under the legal regime of the U.N.O. no other ground except individual or collective self-defence is recognised as legal and legitimate (Article 51). Article 2,4) of the Charter of the United Nations condemns intervention as a measure of self-help, when it provides that all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. Even United Nations as collective body is precluded from intervention in matters, which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Article 4 of the Draft Declaration of the International Law Commission of the United Nations, 1949, also lays maximum stress on the duty of non-intervention for the States.

DOCTRINE OF SELF-PRESERVATION

Q. 6. Discuss with reference to historical precedents the doctrine of self-preservation as 'excuse for violation of another State.' (I.A.S. 1948, 50)

Ans. "From the earliest time it has been constantly held as a rule of International Law, that a State has a right to violate the rights of another State in exercise of the right of self-preservation. Such violations are, however, excused only in the case of necessity. Necessity, observes, Grotius, creates a definite right and cannot be regarded as a mere excuse. The right of self-preservation has been strongly supported by Oppenheim and Hall as a valid cause leading to an intervention into the affairs of other States. According to their writers, States like individuals enter into the family of States with certain inherent rights and one such fundamental right is self preservation.

The right of self-preservation is a sacred right and must be protected, but intervention on this ground can be justified in the following circumstances :—

- (i) the danger to the intervening State must be direct and immediate, not contingent and remote ;
- (ii) the immediate cause for intervention must be sufficiently important to justify war ; and
- (iii) there must be no other way to meet the danger.

LEADING CASES

(1) Case of Danish Fleet (1807)

After the Peace of Tilsit (1807), the British Government being aware of an arrangement by which Denmark could be forced to declare war against Great Britain in aid of France, requested Denmark to deliver up her fleet to the custody of Great Britain. Denmark being put under the Napolionic screw, refused to adhere to the British proposal. Great Britain consequently in the exercise of self-defence shelled Copenhagen and seized the Danish Fleet.

(2) Case of Amelia Island (1817)

The Amelia Island belonging to Spain in 1817 has been seized by a band of buccaneers and its leader Mebregor was preying indiscriminately on the Commerce of the United States. The Spanish Government no being able or willing to drive this band off, and the President Monroe in the exercise of self-defence sent a vessel of war to drive away the marauders and destroyed their works and vessels.

(3) Case of Caroline (1837)

An insurrection broke out in Canada in 1837, during which the insurgents charted the steamer Caroline in order to transport supplies from American side of the river Nigara in to the Canadian mainland across the river. When repeated requests of the Canadian Government to the United States, to put an end to this transit proved futile, a band of British soldiers crossed the river Nigara in exercise of the right of self-defence. They attacked Caroline and set it on fire. During the encounter two Americans were killed and several others were wounded. The American Government lodged a strong protest with the British Government to show "the necessity of self-defence instant overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberations". Great Britain, after a protracted negotiations of five years, finally expressed regret and apologised for the action.

(4) First World War

During the First World War in 1914, Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg on the pretext of the doctrine of self-preservation. German justified this violation on the ground that she was threatened by attacks from Russia and France on the two sides and her self preservation demanded intrusion of her armies in Luxemburg and Belgium for a defensive blow on France. This plea of self-defence was negatived by World opinion, as it was Germany, who declared war on Russia and France and she had no justification to attack France through Belgium.

(5) Manchurian Dispute (1931)

In the course of Manchurian Dispute between China and Japan in 1931 and 1932, Japan invoked the principle of self-preservation in starting military operations against China. But the Assembly of the League held in agreement with the findings of the Commission of Enquiry (Lyttton Commission), that the Japanese action could not be regarded as a measure of legitimate self-defence.

(6) Sinking of the French Fleet at Oran (1940)

In June 1940, after Germany had invaded France and after French Government signed an armistice with Germany, a substantial

part of the French Fleet took refuge in the French North African Port of Oran. On July 3, a British emissary presented the French naval commander with demand that in order to prevent the French Fleet from falling into the hands of the Germans, it should either be handed over to the England during the pendency of war or it should be destroyed. On the refusal of the French admiral, it was destroyed by the British Navy.

(7) Russian Invasion of Finland

The attack by Russia upon Finland in 1939 was measure of self-defence on the part of Russia in anticipating an attack by Germany, notwithstanding the recently non aggression pact between the two countries. Germany also proclaimed the right of self-preservation, when in 1940, she invaded Norway, Denmark, Holland and Luxemburg.

(8) American Neutrality

Before actually participating in the Second World War, the United States had been transferring destroyers to the Great Britain and helping the Allies by the Lend Lease Agreement of 1941. For these acts of help to the Allies, which violated the rules of strict neutrality, American Government justified her stand the changed notion of neutrality consequent upon Kellogg Briand Pact (1928) and also on the ground of self-preservation. She was of the view that the national cause of the United States was vitally menaced by the ostensible will for world domination on the part of Germany.

(9) Korean Affair and Invasion of Tibet

The intervention on the part of Communist China in the affairs of Korea in 1950 has been sought to be justified on the ground of self-preservation. On the same analogy China defended her invasion on Tibet in 1950 by saying that the crossing of the 38th parallel in Korea and progress of the Allied troops on the border of Manchuria made it imperative for China to invade Tibet as a measure of security of her own existence.

Provisions in the Charter

Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations secures to member States, the right of individual or collective self-defence, if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, but the measure taken by the members in exercise of right of self-defence have to be immediately reported to the Security Council. This right of self-defence continues until Security Council has taken measures to maintain international peace and security. Such right of self-defence exists against an actual attack and not where an attack is anticipated on unfriendly relations short of an armed attack exist.

The concept of Collective self-defence has of late been introduced by the conclusion of various treaties. viz., North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Warsaw Pact, Central Treaty Organisation, South East Asia Treaty Organisation etc. Article 5 of the N.A.T.O. provides that an armed attack against one or more of the parties in the Europe or North America shall be considered an attack on them all.

Conclusion

A review of the historical events reveal that there is no doubt that a right of self-defence exists under the general International Law. This right has been clearly recognised in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. But the Charter of the United Nations does not define the concept of 'armed attack', its interpretation being left to the States, until the Security Council intervenes. The legality of such a action is often referred to the Security Council or the International Court of Justice. It is, therefore, clear, as Professor Brierly observes, 'that the defensive or non-defensive character of any State's action is universally regarded as a question capable of determination by an objective examination of relevant facts.'

INTERNATIONAL RIVERS AND CANALS

Q. 7. Discuss the provisions of International Law in regard to (a) international rivers, (b) interoceanic canals.

INTERNATIONAL RIVERS

Ans. Rivers are part of the territory of riparian State. Where, therefore, a river lies wholly, i.e., from its source to mouth, within the boundaries of one and the same State, it belongs exclusively to that State. Such rivers are called national rivers. Secondly, there are boundary rivers, which separate two State from one another. The middle of channel of the river marks the line of separation between the two States. Thirdly, there are rivers which run through several States. These are called International rivers. Each State owns that part of the river, which runs through its territory. There are, however, another group of rivers which have been internationalised by treaties e.g., River Danube. The main rules of International Law regarding International rivers were laid down at different conferences and conventions.

(1) Congress of Vienna (1815)

It was provided at the conference that the navigation of International rivers is free up the their mouth for all nations and each riparian power must carry the works necessary for navigation in that part flowing through its territory. The Conference gave recognition for the free navigation on Rivers Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine.

(2) The Paris Conference (1856)

Article 15 of the Treaty of Paris provided for the free navigation of the river *Danube* and expressly declared the principle of Vienna Congress relating to the free navigation of international rivers by merchant vessels of all nations to be part of 'European Public Law'. It also set up the International Danube Commission for executing repairs and affecting improvements in that river. The *Berlin Treaty of 1878* considerably enlarged the powers of the Danube Commission.

(3) **Treaty of Versailles (1919)**

This treaty declared the Elbe, the Oder, the Nimen and Danuble from Ulm together with lateral canals and channels serving as an access to more than one State, to be international (Art. 331). The nationals, property and flags of all powers were to be treated on a footing of perfect equality on all these waterways.

(4) **The Barcelona Conference (1921)**

The League of Nations tried to unify laws with regard to rivers at a Conference at Barcelona in 1921. The conference adopted two important conventions :—

- (a) a convention and a statute on the freedom of transit ; and
- (b) a convention and statute on the regime of navigable international waterways.

There are could not, however, be much headway due to the conflict of the State jurisdiction and its subsequent non-ratification by the States having important waterways in their territory.

(5) **The Geneva Conference of (1923)**

A convention regarding the development of Hydraulic power affecting more than one State was signed at Geneva in Dec. 1923., by the 16 States and one Dominion. The necessity for the convention rose due to the fact that the flow of the international rivers is not within the arbitrary power of one of the riparian States, for it is a rule of International Law, that no State is allowed to alter the natural condition of its territory to the disadvantage of the natural condition of the territory of a neighbouring State. This convention lays down that before the development of hydraulic powers from international rivers, the States concerned should enter into negotiations with a view to the conclusion of agreements, which will allow such operations to be executed and regulate the situation created by them.

(6) **Geneva Conference of 1930**

This conference attempted to unify the laws and regulations applicable to river navigation and trade and drafted conventions on

- (i) registration of inland navigation vessels ;
- (ii) administrative measures for attesting the rights of inland navigation vessels to a flag ; and
- (iii) convention for the unification of rules concerning collisions in inland navigation.

(7) Belgrade Conference

A conference was held at Belgrade with a view to drafting a new convention on navigation on the Danube. The conference drafted a convention, which was accepted by a majority vote. The United States, U.K. and France abstained from voting on acceptance of Soviet draft and declared their refusal to recognise the abrogation of 1921 Statute without the consent of all the signatories.

INTER-OCEANIC CANALS

Canals are artificially constructed and as such form part of the State within whose territory they lie. But sometimes they can also be neutralised or internationalised, if maritime powers agree to refrain from naval hostilities within the said waterway. The most important of such canals are Suez, Kiel and Panama.

Suez Canal

It connects the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. It was constructed by a French Joint Stock Company in 1869 under a concession from the Ottoman Governor of Egypt. By the Convention of Constantinople (1888), the Canal was neutralized. By this treaty the Canal was made open in time of peace as well as war to merchantmen and men-of-war of all nations. No permanent fortifications are allowed in Canal. The Charter of the Canal was to expire on November 17, 1969.

In December, 1914, Great Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt. The Canal remained open to the ships of Allied and neutral powers for the whole of the First World War. In 1922, Great Britain, while declaring independence of Egypt, reserved for future negotiations between British and Egyptian Governments, the question, amongst others, of the defence canal. By the Treaty of Alliance of 1936, between Great Britain and Egypt, the parties recognised, that while the canal was an integral part of Egypt, it was an essential means of communication between the different parts of British Empire. Provision was therefore, made for ensuring defence of canal by British forces stationed in the Canal zone in collaboration with the Egyptian forces. During the Second World War, the Clauses contained in this Treaty were faithfully observed by Great Britain and Egypt. In July, 1954, after long negotiations Great Britain agreed for the evacuation of British troops from canal zone, within 20 months.

But in July 1956, Egypt nationalised the Canal to help finance its Aswan Dam Project. Interesting Developments followed and there was an international furore over it. When a series of conferences, negotiations and pressures failed. Britain and France incited

Israel to attack Egypt, which it did on October 30, 1956, and they joined in the attack after two days. On November 2, 1956, the United Nations General Assembly at a special session voted overwhelmingly the American resolution calling upon the invading powers an immediate cease-fire, which they did on November 7, 1956. The Assembly also temporarily stationed a United Nations Emergency Force in the Suez Canal Area for the maintenance of peace and security.

In April, 1957, the Government of Egypt, undertook to respect the obligations contained in the Constantinople Convention of 1888 and the Charter of the United Nations. It further agreed to refer any complaint against the canal Administration to an arbitration Committee, whose decision was to be binding on the parties. It subsequently registered a decision with the United States regarding the use of canal and deposited with the U.N. its acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice.

Kiel Canal

This canal was built by Germany in 1896 to connect North Sea to the Baltic Sea. It runs wholly through German territory. Before, the First World War, although Germany kept it open to international commercial traffic she had the power to close it at her pleasure. This position was changed when Germany was defeated in World War I. Art. 380 of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) provided that Germany should keep this waterway open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations at peace with Germany on terms of equality.

In 1923, status of the Kiel Canal came before the Permanent Court of International Justice in S.S. Wimbledon Case. The Court, by a majority, in giving judgement against Germany, held that the Kiel Canal was to be open to States at peace with Germany, even if they were engaged in a war in which Germany was neutral. But in 1936, before World War II, Germany denounced unilaterally the Articles 380 to 386 of the Treaty of Versailles and resumed the control over the canal as it existed before 1914.

The Panama Canal

This canal connects the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans by cutting across the Isthmus of Panama. It was opened to traffic in 1914. The international status of the canal is governed by the Treaty of 1901 between the United States and U.K., which throws open the canal to vessels of commerce and men-of-war of all nations.

The canal territory belongs to the Republic of Panama. In accordance with the treaty signed in 1903, the independence of the latter has been granted by the former in lieu of the grant in perpetuity of land five miles on either side of the canal by the Republic of Panama to the United States with rights of construction. On the outbreak of the First War, the United States permitted the free passage of merchant vessels but regulated the passing of belligerent warships and prizes. When the United States became belligerent a proclamation was issued excluding all enemy vessels save with the consent of the canal authorities. Similar procedure was adopted by the United States during the Second War.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION

Q. 8. Describe briefly the constitution, functions and powers of the United Nations Organisations. Is this Organisation an improvement on the League of Nations. (I.A.S. 1949)

Or,

Examine critically the composition and functions of the Security Council of the United Nations. What is the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. (I.A.S. 1959)

Ans. Constitution of the U.N.O.

The following are the main organs of the United Nations :—

- (i) General Assembly
- (ii) Security Council
- (iii) The Economic and Social Council
- (iv) Trusteeship Council
- (v) International Court of Justice
- (vi) Secretariat.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Composition

It consists of all the members of the United Nations, and each member can have not more than 5 representatives (Art. 9).

Functions and Powers

The functions of the General Assembly are :—

- (1) to initiate discussion on any question within the scope of the Charter and make recommendations to the members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such question ;
- (2) to discuss any question relating to maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any member of the United Nations or by the Security Council or by a

non-member State and make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the States concerned or to the Security Council or to both ;

- (3) to call the attention of the Security Council to situations, which are likely to endanger international peace and security ;
- (4) to recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any dispute likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations ;
- (5) to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of International Law and its codification ;
- (6) to approve the trusteeship agreement for areas not designated as strategic ;
- (7) to consider and approve budget for the Organisation ;
- (8) to participate in the election of the judges of the International Court of Justice, elect 6 non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of Economic and Social Council and some members of Trusteeship Council ;
- (9) to appoint General Secretary upon the recommendations of the Security Council ; and
- (10) to admit, expel or to suspend a member of the United Nations for violations of the principles of the Charter upon the recommendations of the Security Council.

Voting

Each member of the General Assembly has one vote. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions are made by two-third of the members present and voting. Decisions on the other questions are made by the majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

The General Assembly meets in regular annual sessions in September each year and in such special sessions as the occasions may require. Special sessions can be convoked by the Secretary General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of members of the United Nations Organisation. The General Assembly elects its own President for each session (Art. 21). The General Assembly may establish much subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

SECURITY COUNCIL

Composition

The Security Council consists of eleven members of United Nations. China, France, U.K., U.S S R., and U.S.A. are the five permanent members of the Security Council, while six non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years. In the election of non-permanent members due regard is paid to the contribution of the members of United Nations to the maintenance of international peace security and also to the equitable geographical distribution. (Art. 23)

Powers and Functions

The performance of almost all the legally important functions of the United Nations is conferred upon the Security Council, acting either exclusively or in consultation with the General Assembly. The primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security has been conferred by the members of the United Nations on the Security Council. Under article 25 of the Charter the members of the United Nations have undertaken to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council. The main functions of the Security Council are :—

(1) Pacific Settlement of Disputes

Under Chapter VI of the U.N. Charter, Security Council, when it deems necessary, call on the parties to a dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of peace and security, to seek a solution by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their choice (Art. 33)

Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to above fail to settle it by means indicated, the Security Council decides, whether to recommend appropriate procedure or methods of settlement or whether to recommend actual terms of settlement.

(Articles 36-37)

The Security Council may also investigate any dispute or any situation, which might lead to international friction either of its own motion or on a reference being made by any member of the U.N.O., or by a non-member, who is a party to dispute or by the General Assembly.

(Articles 34-35)

(2) Compulsive Settlement of Disputes

Under Chapter VII, the Security Council determines the existence of any threat to the peace, or act of aggressions and makes recommendations or decides what measures shall be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security. (Art. 39)

(3) Enforcement Measures

Article 41 of the Charter authorise the Security Council to apply collective measures against the defaulting member-State and by virtue of Art. 46 of the Charter against the non-member States, such as interruption of economic relations, interruption of means of communications, severance of diplomatic relations including blockade for the purpose of preventing breach of peace.

If, however, the above measures prove inadequate, the Security Council may take such action under Article 42 of the Charter by air, sea or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security.

With a view to carry out their obligations, all the members of the United Nations have undertaken to make available to the Security Council on its call and in accordance with special agreements, armed forces, assistance and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

(Article 43)

(4) The Security Council also controls and supervises trust territories, which have been classified as strategic areas.

(5) It also recommends to General Assembly, admission, suspension and expulsion of members to the United Nations Organisation.

Voting Procedure

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of seven members. The decisions of the Security Council on ad hoc matters are made by the affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring vote of the members.

Procedure

The Security Council is so organised so as to be able to function continuously. It holds periodic meetings. The Presidency of the Security Council is held in the turn by the members in English Alphabetic order of their name. Each president holds office for one calendar month.

Relation between the General Assembly and Security Council

1. The Security Council has almost the characteristics of a governmental body. It is concerned primarily with preserving and maintaining international peace and security. The General Assembly on the other hand, is largely a deliberative organ concerned with

the totality of matters coming within the scope of United Nations. The Security Council has jurisdiction with regard to any dispute or situation, which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly, no doubt, receives and considers under Article 15, annual reports from the Security Council, with regard to the measures, which the latter has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security. But Oppenheim remarks that the Charter does not contemplate that in receiving and discussing such reports the General Assembly shall pass judgement upon the activities of the Security Council in a manner amounting to subordination of the Council to the over-riding authority of the Assembly. In the case concerning the competence of the General Assembly for admission of the State to the United Nations (1949), the International Court of Justice had declared that the Charter 'does not place Security Council in a subordinate position.'

3. With regard to many matters the Assembly works in conjugation with the Security Council e.g., admission or expulsion of members, the appointment of Secretary General, and election of the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

4. The Security Council is almost continuously functioning body, with the General Assembly consisting of all the members of U.N.O, meets only in annual or special sessions.

5. The passage of 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution in 1950, has however, drastically altered the relationship originally intended to be established by the Charter between the Security Council and the Assembly. It has enabled the Assembly to yield wide powers when, because of the lack of unanimity of the permanent members, the security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, in any case where appears to be a threat to peace, breach of peace, or acts of aggression.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

It consists of 18 members of United Nations, elected by General Assembly for three years. Six members are elected every year for a term of 3 years. A retiring member is eligible for re-election. In this Council every member has one vote and decisions are made by the majority of the members present and voting.

The functions of the Council are

- (i) to make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health

and related matters and to make recommendations with respect to any such matter to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations and to the specialised agencies concerned.

- (ii) to make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all ;
- (iii) to prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence ;
- (iv) to call international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

THE SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat comprises Secretary General and such staff as the Organisation may require. The Secretary General is the chief Administrative Officer and is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The Secretary General acts in that capacity in all the meetings of the Security Council, General Assembly, Trusteeship Council and Economic and Social Council. He makes an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organisation. Besides all these functions he is also authorised to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter, which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. At present U Thant is the acting Secretary General of the U.N.O.

International Court of Justice : *See page 276*
 Trusteeship Council : *See page 272*

Comparison of U.N.O. and the League of Nations

The following points of difference between the two organisations will clearly go to show that the United Nations is decidedly an improvement over the League of Nations :—

1. The Charter of the United Nations is far more detailed. New organs such as Economic and Social Council have been created.
2. The covenant of the League of Nations put emphasis on the States, whereas the United Nations put emphasis on the people of the States forming the Organisation. Thus, it raises the importance of the people of States and attracts their sympathies.
3. The covenant of the League required the agreement of all the members for all decisions of importance, while

the Charter of United Nations provides partial unanimity and many matters can be decided by bare majority. The voting procedure in United Nations is, therefore, a distinct improvement upon the League.

4. there is a clear demarcation of functions between the Security Council and General Assembly, whereas the Covenant of the League did not do this with the result that there was often confusion and overlapping in the functions of the two.
5. The United Nations can take enforcement action even in the case of threat to international peace ; the League of Nations, on the other hand, was limited in its powers to take action only when the member States had gone to war in breach of Covenant.
6. The enforcement actions in the Charter are more comprehensive and effective in nature than those of the League of Nations, as a Security Council has been authorised to take action even to the length of using armed force, while there were no armed forces at the disposal of the League.
7. The League Council was impotent to demand compliance of its recommendations from the member nations, while the Security Council's decisions, as regards that are to be taken against the aggressor State are *ipso facto* binding on the members of the U.N.O.
8. The Security Council is the sole body to determine the existence of a threat to peace or breach of peace or an act of aggression, while according to the League Covenant, it was upon each member of the League to decide, whether the provisions of the Covenant have been violated, and it was obliged to take economic and military action only if it decided the question in the affirmative.
9. The Covenant of the League of Nations did not make any reference to the right of individual or collective self defence. The Charter of the United Nations specifically provides for this in Article 51.
10. the provision for regional arrangement in the Charter of the United Nations, goes a great way in the maintenance of international peace and security. There was no such measure in the Covenant of the League.
11. The Charter of the United Nations puts emphasis on human rights and fundamental freedoms of making without distinction as to the race, sex, language or religion. There was no such provision in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

12. The Charter of the United Nations puts emphasis on International co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character. There was no such provision in the Covenant.
13. The Charter of the United Nations provides for the establishment of military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council's military requirements. There was no such provision in the Covenant of the League.
14. With regard to withdrawal from the two Organisations, the Covenant provided for voluntary withdrawal in case a member of the League voted against and refused to ratify an amendment. Members of the U.N., however do not cease to be members in case of their refusal to ratify an amendment to the Charter, but are bound by it.
15. Trusteeship System, under the U.N.O. is also an improvement over the Mandate System of the League of Nations.

MANDATE AND TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEMS

Q. 9. (a) State the difference between the legal position of mandated areas and territories. What is the present position of South-West Africa under the supervision of Union of South Africa ? (I.A.S. 1955)

(b) Comment : "The system of international Trusteeship is more comprehensive than the system of mandates". (I.A.S. 1950, 58)

Or,

What new machinery did the United Nations substitute for the Mandate System ? What are the objects for which it is to function ? Will it, in our opinion, be of any assistance to solve the Congo Problem. (I.A.S. 1961)

MANDATE AREAS

Ans. Under the League of Nations, there was initiated an experiment of mandated territories in 1919-20. These were former enemy territories and were alleged to be inhabited by backward communities, who were not able to stand by themselves under the strenuous condition of modern world. By Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the territories by Germany and Turkey to the Allies were placed under the guardianship of the League. The League handed over these territories under 'mandate' to responsible States to be administered by them subject to supervision and ultimate authority of the League of Nations.

Classification of Mandate Territories

There were three types of mandates, viz.

(a) where the communities had reached a fairly advanced stage of development and mandatory power was merely to offer administrative advice and assistance. The examples are Iraq administered by Great Britain, Palestine and Trans-Jordon administered by Great Britain, and Syria and Lebanon administered by France ;

(b) where the mandatory power actually administered the territory under conditions, which were to guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, the prohibition of such abuses as slave trade, the arms and liquor traffic etc. The examples

are the Central African territories administered by Great Britain and France;

(c) territories such as South-West Africa and certain South Pacific Islands, which on account of sparseness of their population or their small size, were administered as integral part of the territory of the mandatory power subject to the safeguards mentioned above.

The Mandate System was supervised by the League of Nations, brought the Permanent Mandate Commission consisting of a majority of members from the non-mandatory powers.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The Charter of the United Nations Organisation introduced a new system of 'Trust Territories', as a corollary to the former mandate system. Article 77 of the Charter provided that the Trusteeship System shall apply to :—

- (a) territories previously held under a mandate ;
- (b) territories detached from the defeated States as a result of Second World War ; and
- (c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by States responsible for their administration.

Objectives of the Trusteeship System

According to Article 76 of the Charter the objects of the Trusteeship System are :—

- (i) to further international peace and security ;
- (ii) to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories and their progressive development towards self-government or independence ;
- (iii) to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion ; and
- (iv) to ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all members of the United Nations and their nationals.

The functions of the United Nations in respect of the supervision of trust territories and the approval of the terms of trusteeship agreements and their amendments are carried out in the case of strategic

areas by the Security Council (which may call upon the assistance of the Trusteeship Council and in the case of all other trust territories by the General Assembly, assisted by Trusteeship Council.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Composition

The Trusteeship Council consists of the following members of the United Nations :—

- (i) Those members administering trust territories ;
- (ii) the permanent members of the Security Council, who are not incharge of any trust territory ; and
- (iii) as many other members elected for three-year term by General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total members of the Trustcehip Council are equally divided between those members of the United Nations, which administer trust territories and those which do not. (Article 86)

Functions and Powers

The General Assembly and, under its authority the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions may :—

- (i) consider reports submitted by the administering authorities ;
- (ii) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority ;
- (iii) provide for periodic visit to respective trust territories at times agreed upon with administering authority ; and
- (iv) take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of trusteeship agreements. (Article 87)

The Trusteeship Council has to formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social and educational advancement of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory submits an annual report to the General Assembly on the basis of such questionnaire. (Article 88)

Voting Procedure

Each member of the Trusteeship Council has one vote. Decisions of the Council are made by the majority of the members present and voting. The Trusteeship Council adopts its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

The Trusteeship Council must, when appropriate, avail itself of assistance of the Economic Council and of the specialised agencies in regard to the matters with which they are concerned.

Comparison between the Trusteeship System and Mandate System

The system of international trusteeship is more comprehensive than the system of mandates associated with the League of Nations in the following respects :—

(i) Purpose

The purpose of both the systems is the same, namely, to promote political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of mandated or trust territories. But the Trusteeship System also lays emphasis on human rights and fundamental freedoms of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. Moreover, Article 73 of the Charter requires the members of the United Nations administering trust territories to accept as sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories.

(ii) Classification of Territories

The League of Nations made a rigid classification of mandates into A, B and C, but the United Nations Charter does not make such classification. In practice there is no uniformity in the trust territories. The Charter pronounces that the particular circumstances of each territory and its people will lead to changes in Trusteeship agreements.

(iii) Functions and Activities

The functions and activities of the Trusteeship Council are wider than those of the mandate. Oral petitions, though not prescribed under the Covenant, were informally entertained from the mandate States by the League. The Charter incorporated this formal custom of the League.

Also League informally secured the co-operation of the technical organs in its treatment of mandated areas Article 91 of the Charter provides for the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and other specialised agencies.

(iv) Supervision

The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations have greater authority with respect to the supervision and control of the administration of trust territories. Those bodies approve the trusteeship agreements, give their consent for any alteration and modification of these agreements and bear general responsibility for the administration of trust territories. It is to the General Assembly that the Administering authority submits annual report with regard to territories entrusted to its administration.

(v) International Machinery

The Trusteeship Council is one of the principal organs of the United Nations and it has great powers ; the functions of the Mandate Commission was to advise the Council only. It had no direct power of initiative and action.

(vi) Defence and Security

In the sphere of defence and security, the Charter provides distinct improvement. The League Covenant prohibited construction of military and naval bases. But Art. 84 of the Charter enjoins on the Administering authority, the duty to ensure that the trust territory plays its part in the maintenance of international peace and security, and permits the Administering authority to use, for the purpose of defence, volunteer force, facilities and assistance from the trust territories.

Congo and Trusteeship System

Although, under Article 77 of the Charter, like Congo can be placed under Trusteeship System, by the States responsible for its administration, yet its joining the Trust Territories will not be of any help to solve its financial and integration problems. The ultimate objective of all the Trust territories is to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants and their progressive development towards self-governments or independence. Congo is already independent, and has thus already achieved the main objective of the Trusteeship System. To bring it back to Trusteeship System is to put the cart before the bulls. The political situation in Congo has already greatly improved, as a result of noble work of U.N.O. troops, and the President Tshombe of Katanga has already agreed for the integration of the whole Congo, under the Central Government. What it now requires is large-scale financial help from all possible sources. The U.N.O. should play its noble part for the restoration of the financial stability of Congo.

Status of South-West Africa (I.A.S. 1950, 46)

At the first Assembly of the United Nations in 1946, Great Britain, France, Australia, Newzealand and Belgium showed their intention to place their mandated territories under the Trusteeship system. The Union of South Africa, however, claimed to make the mandate territories of South-West Africa part of her territory and refused to hand it over to Trusteeship system. By virtue of this stand taken by South Africa, she discontinued sending reports and petitions from the inhabitants of South-West Africa to the United Nations. The matter was referred to the International Court of Justice.

The International Court of Justice decided in 1950, that

- (i) **South-West Africa was still a territory under international mandate and the Union of South Africa was not competent to modify its international status ;**
- (ii) **the provisions of the Trusteeship System were applicable to the South African territories ;**
- (iii) **The Union of South Africa was legally not bound to place South West Africa under Trusteeship system, but the Union of South-Africa could not change the International status of the South-Africa ; and**
- (iv) **Again, the Court held that if Mandate system lapsed, the Union Government's authority also lapsed.**

On December 6, 1950, subsequent to the decision of the International Court of Justice, the United Nations Trusteeship Council decided to recommend South-Africa to place South-West Africa under the U.N. Trusteeship System. A special South-West Africa Negotiating Committee of the Trurteeship Council was constituted for the purpose of reaching a settlement with South Africa. In November 1952, that Committee reported its failure to reach a settlement with South Africa. Since then many attempts have been made to solve this problem, but all in vain. The status of South-West Africa is still undecided in International Law.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Q. 10. Discuss briefly the functions of the International Court of Justice. What is the position of individuals and bodies other than States in relation to this Court.

Or,

Discuss with reference to four leading cases, how far the International Court of Justice has helped 'the progressive development of International Law'.

Ans. The International Court of Justice is an organ of the United Nations Organisation, in as much as its statute forms an integral part of the Charter (Article 92). The statute is almost a literal copy of the statute of the Permanent Court of Justice, which was established by the League of Nations.

Organisation

The International Court of Justice, consists of 15 judges under a President, elected by the members from among themselves. The Judges of the Court are elected by the Security Council and the General Assembly of the U.N.O. The judges are elected regardless of their nationality, but two members of the Court can be nationals of the same States. They cannot exercise any political or administrative functions or engage in any other occupation of a professional nature. The Judges are elected for 9 years and may be re-elected. They elect their President and Vice-President and appoint their Registrar. The seat of the Court is Hague, but the Court can sit elsewhere also.

Article 31 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice lays down that in a case before the Court, Judges of the nationality of each of the parties retain their right to sit in the case before the Court. If the Court includes upon the Bench a Judge of the nationality of one of the parties, the other party has a right to choose its own nominee to sit as a judge. If the Court does not include upon the Bench any judge of the nationalities of the parties, each of the parties may choose a judge.

Jurisdiction of the Court i.e., its Functions

The Court exercises jurisdiction over the States, which are members of the United Nations and are parties to the statute and also over the States, which accepts the Court's jurisdiction by a declaration. The jurisdiction of the Court is divided into voluntary, compulsory and advisory.

(i) Voluntary Jurisdiction

Article 36.1) of the Statute of the Court provides that its jurisdiction comprises all cases which the parties refer to the Court by agreement. The agreement to refer the dispute may be made by both the parties or one party only may refer the matter to the Court and other party may signify its assent to reference.

(ii) Compulsory Jurisdiction

Article 36.2) of the Statute provides that the States, which are parties to the present statute may at any time declare that they recognise as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special agreement in relation to any other States, accepting the obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning :—

- (a) the interpretation of a treaty ;
- (b) the existence of any fact, which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligations ; and
- (c) the nature and extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of international obligations.

The Statute also provides that the declarations made under the old optional clause in the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice shall be deemed to be acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction of the present Court. [Article 36 (5)]

The Court has further compulsory jurisdiction where the parties concerned are bound by a treaty or a convention under, which they agreed to refer the matter to a tribunal which has been instituted by the League of Nations or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. (Article 37)

(iii) Advisory Jurisdiction

According to Article 96(1) of the Charter, the Security Council or General Assembly may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. By Article 96(2), the other organs of the U.N.O. and specialised agencies, when empowered by the General Assembly can ask for an advisory opinion on legal questions, arising within the scope of their activities.

Such advisory opinion is not binding upon the parties, but States may by treaty or agreement bind themselves in advance with regard to such advice as may be tendered by the Court. This has been done in the treaty known as the Central Convention on Privileges and Immunities of United Nations.

Procedure of the Court

Cases are brought before the Court either by a notification of special agreement or by written application addressed to the Registrar. The full Court sits for the decision of a dispute unless otherwise provided in the Statute. A quorum of 9 judges constitutes the Court. All questions, including judgement are decided by majority vote. In case of equality of votes, the President has a casting vote.

Immunities of the Judges

The members of the Court, when engaged on the business of the Court, enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities. The agents, counsels and advocates of the parties before the court also enjoy the privileges necessary for the independent exercise of their duties. The salaries, allowances and compensation of members of the Court and the Registrar are free of all taxation.

The Law to be applied by Court

By Article 38 of the Statute, International Court of Justice applies the International Law, based on International conventions, International customs, the general principles of law recognised by civilised nations, judicial decisions and the teachings of the publicists.

The judgement of the Court is final and without appeal. The Court may revise its judgement only when some new decisive fact is discovered. Reasons are given for judgement. Also, by Article 59 of the Statute, the judgements of the Court are not legally binding in subsequent cases, and each judgement stands on its merits.

Position of Individual and Bodies other than States in relation to International Court of Justice

Article 34(1) of the Statute of the International Court of Justice lays down only States are parties to dispute before the Court. However, by virtue of the Art. 34(2), the Court may request of public international organisations, information relevant to the case before it. Such organisations may present information to the Court on their own initiative, and the Court is bound to receive it. When the Court is concerned with a case involving the constitution of a public international organisation, such organisation is to be notified and is entitled to receive copies of all written proceedings.

Also the United Nations, not being a State, cannot appear as a party before the Court, it may by Article 96(1) of the Charter, through General Assembly or Security Council request the Court to give an Advisory opinion on any legal question. Similarly, by Art. 96(2) of the Charter, the other organs of the U.N.O. and the specialised agencies, when empowered by the General Assembly can ask for the

advisory opinion of the Court on legal questions within the scope of their activities.

No such capacity in any form is enjoyed by individuals. This does not mean that in no circumstances can the Court adjudicate upon the claims of private individuals. It means that before it can do so, a Government, as a rule individual's own Government must expouse his claims and bring it before the Court. In fact, the majority of the judgements of the Court have been covered with the claims of the private origin.

CASE LAW

Confru Channel Case

On October 22, 1946, two British ships passing through the Confru Channel, were struck with mines in Albanian territorial waters, with the result, that one of the ships sank, while the other was seriously damaged. On the Channel being swept, by the British Navy, on November 12 and 13 without obtaining the consent of the Albanian a newly laid field of anchored mines was discovered at the same place, where had occurred the exposition in October. Great Britain alleged that Albania was responsible for the presence of mines in the Channel.

On the dispute being referred to the International Court of Justice, it was decided that Albania was responsible under International Law for the explosions, which occurred on October 22 in Albanian waters, and for the damage and loss of human life resulting therefrom, on account of having failed to warn the British warships the existence of mine-fields in its waters. The Court further held that the United Kingdom did not violate the sovereignty of Albania, by reasons of Acts of British Navy on Oct. 22, as the passage was innocent. It was also held unanimously by the Court that the subsequent mine-sweeping operations by Britain, after the disaster and without obtaining consent of Albania violated Albanian sovereignty and this declaration by the Court constituted in itself appropriate satisfaction. In the end Albania was held to pay an adequate compensation to England.

Columbian—Peruvian Asylum Case (1950)

In October, 1949, Columbia filed an application with the International Court of Justice for judgement on its dispute with Peru concerning the interpretation of treaties of asylum between the two countries. The dispute developed, when the Colombian Ambassador in Peru gave asylum to Haya de la Torre, a Peruvian national and a political leader, accused of having instigated a military rebellion, and sought safe conduct for him out of Peru. The Peruvian Government refused and disagreement centred on the obligations of the parties to give safe conduct under Bolivarian Agreement on Extradietion (1911), and Havana Convention on Asylum 1928.

The Court held that asylum had not been granted by the Colombian Ambassador in accordance with the treaties as Haya de la Torre had sought refuge in the Embassy some three months after the suppression of the military rebellion, which showed that the urgency prescribed by the Havana Convention, as a condition of regularity of asylum, no longer existed. The Court also held that there was no obligation of Peru to render a safe conduct to Haya de la Torre.

Haya de la Torre Case (1951)

After the delivery of judgement, Peru called upon Columbia to surrender Haya de la Torre. On Columbia's refusal, the matter was again referred to the Court by a fresh application. On June 13, 1951, the Court held that although Havana Convention of 1928 expressly prescribed the surrender of common criminals to the local authorities, no obligation of the kind existed in regard to political offenders. It, however, reiterated its earlier judgement that asylum had been granted irregularly and that, although on this account Peru was entitled to demand its termination, Columbia was not bound to surrender the refugee. It was observed that these two conclusions were not contradictory, because other ways in which asylum could be terminated besides the surrender of the refugee.

Anglo-Norwegian Fisheries Case (1949)

The United Kingdom brought this case before the International Court of Justice, complaining of closing of considerable areas off the Norwegian coast for fishing vessels of the foreign States. The United Kingdom maintained that these areas formed part of high seas and must be open for fishing vessels of all the nations. The United Kingdom further asked the Court for deciding the principles of International Law, which could be applied in delimiting base lines and by reference to which the Government of Norway was entitled to delimit a fisheries zone, so as to preserve it exclusively for its own nationals.

The Court held that the method employed for the delimitation of the fisheries zone by the Royal Norwegian Decree of 1935 was not contrary to International Law, and the base lines fixed by Norway were correct in principle. The Court further held that Norway like all other States was not only entitled to determine the breadth of her territorial sea, but also the manner in which it was to be reckoned in accordance with the general principles of existing law of nations.